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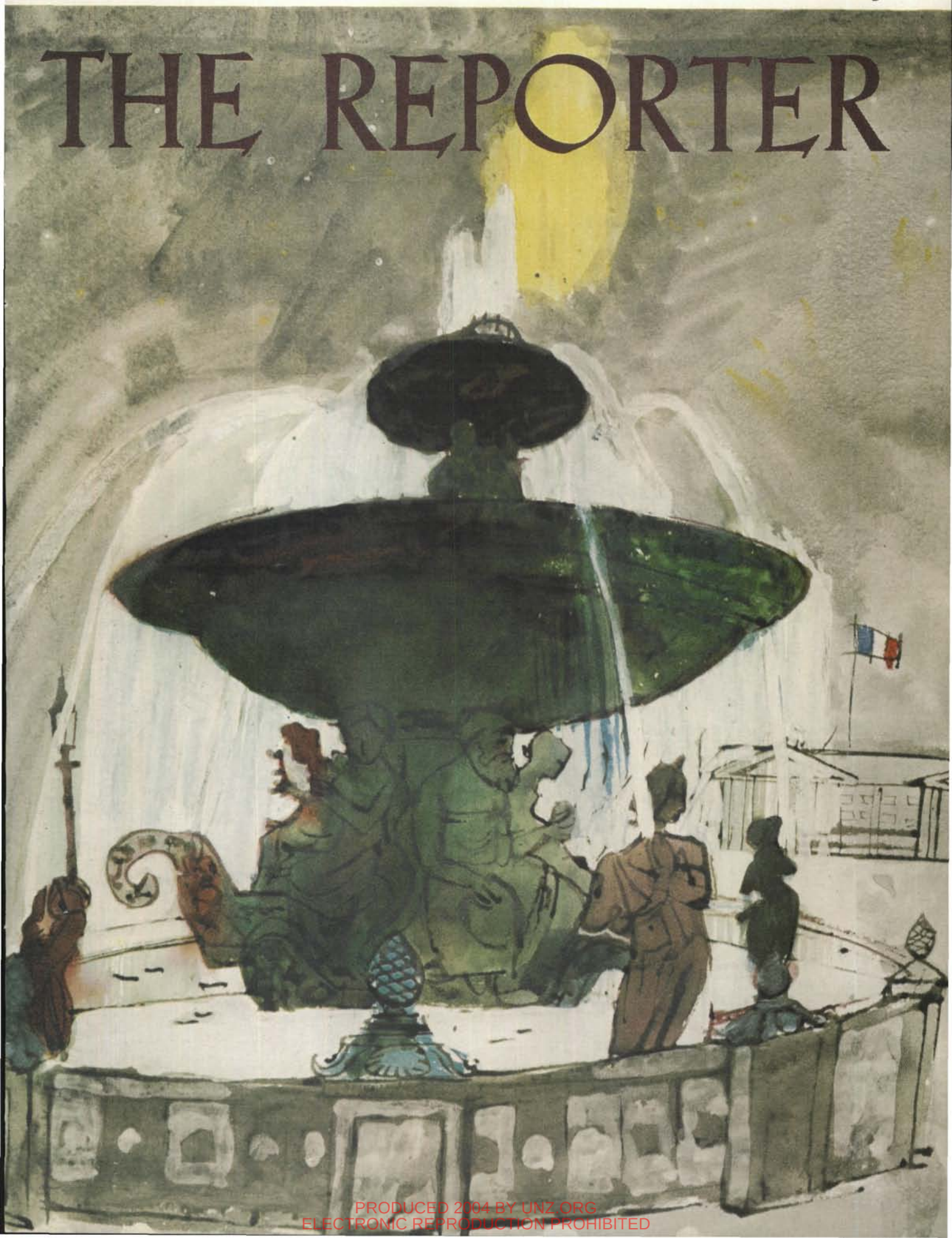

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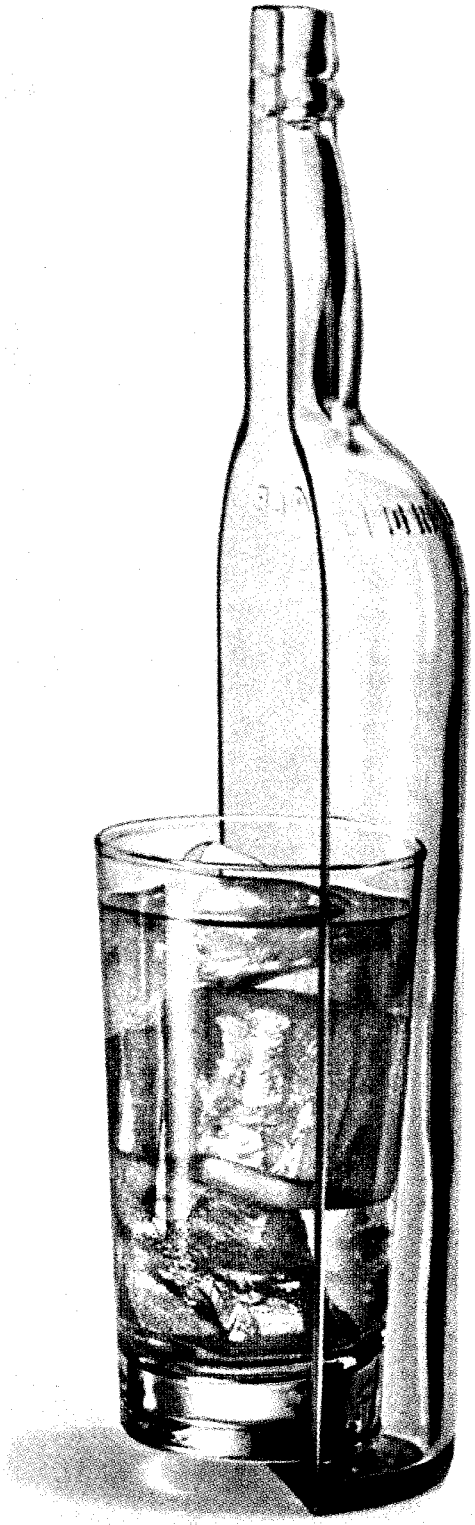

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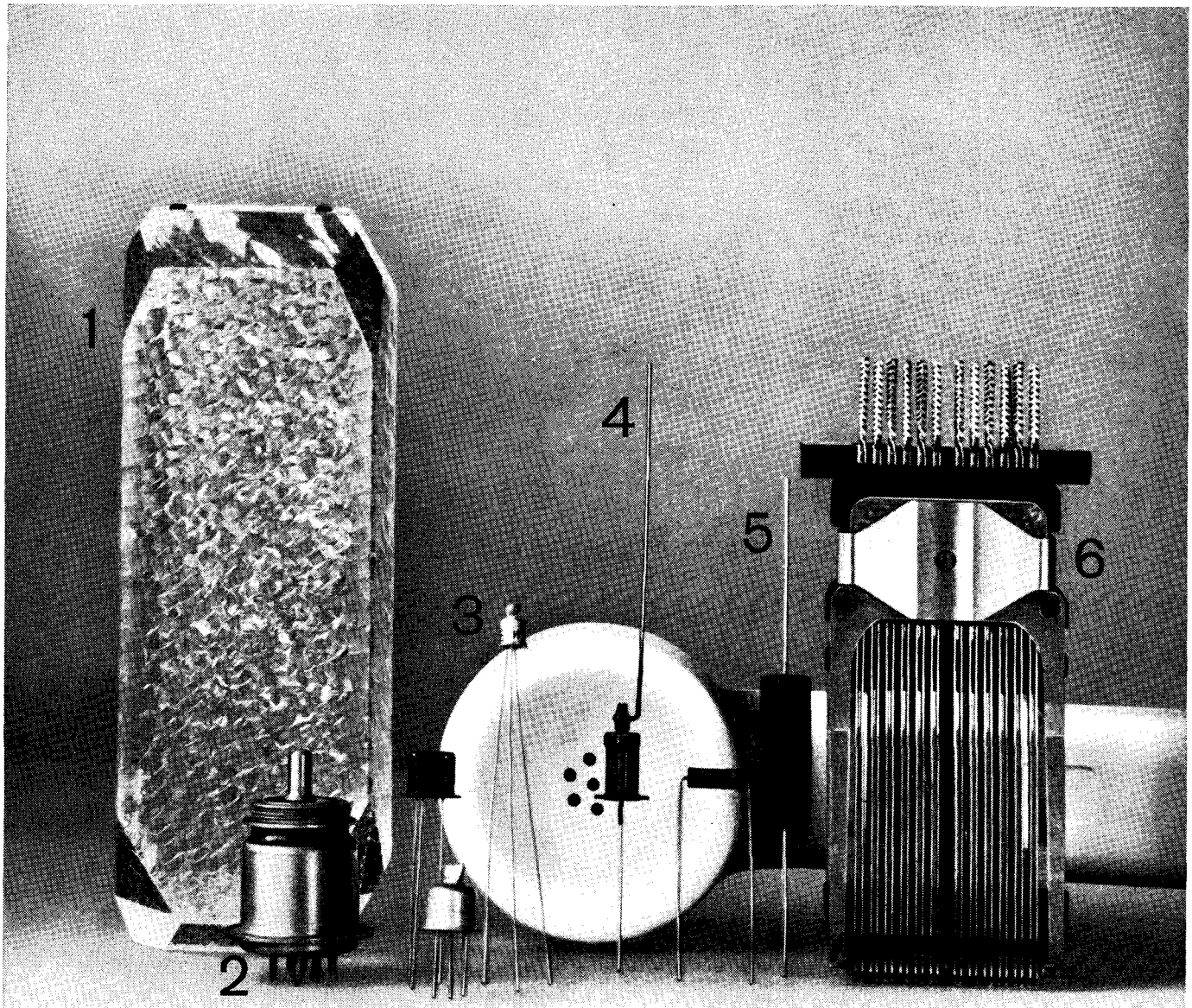

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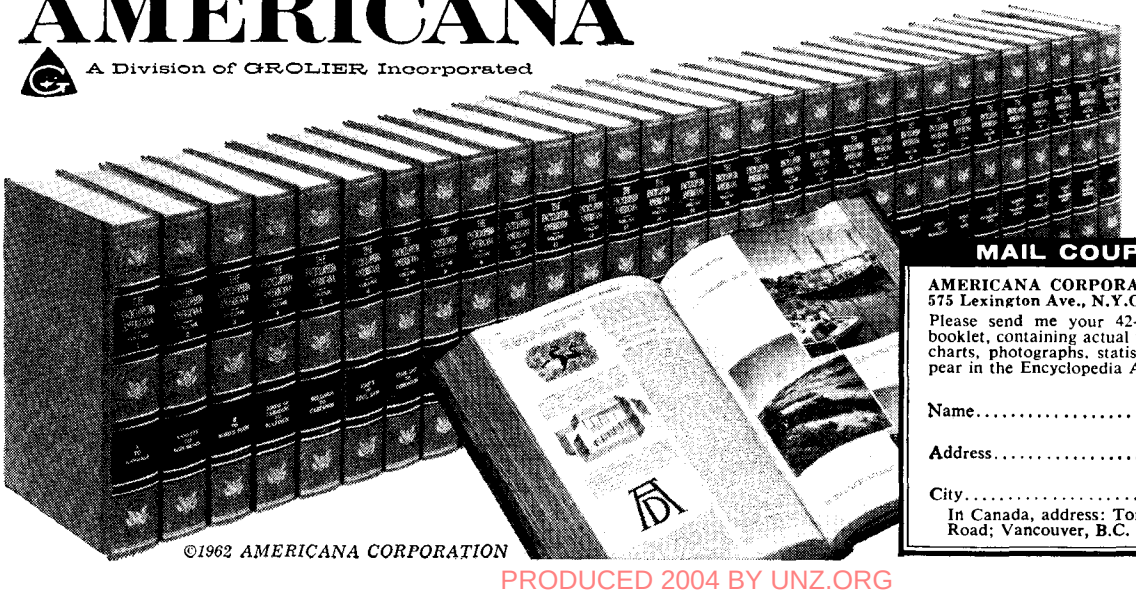

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THIS is the traditional biennial occasion when everyone from the President to the Congressional leaders is busy proclaiming the historic achievements of the Congress that is about to expire. Only Harry Truman—God bless his soul—gave vent to some uncomplimentary ideas about a Congress, the Eightieth, with which he had the bad luck to work. President Kennedy, reverting to a more gallant tradition, has seen fit to praise the work of the Eighty-seventh Congress most generously. Our editor, **Max Ascoli,** thought at first that it was *de rigueur* that an editorial should be devoted to giving out marks to Congress. But since Congress kept postponing its adjournment, he writes his comments in the pages of The Reporter's Notes—the last pages of the magazine to close. Anyway, his mind is focused much more on the Eighty-eighth Congress than on the Eighty-seventh and he suspects that the President must feel very much the same way, considering the role he is determined to play in the coming Congressional elections.

While waiting for the judgment of history on how good or bad the last Congress has been, it is important to see how a few measures of legislation have been enacted or failed to be enacted. Take for instance the bill establishing censorship on mail from Communist countries. There is still some question as to exactly what the bill was about. There is also some bewilderment over how it could have been passed at all. About the only man who really seemed to want it was one Glenn C. Cunningham, a Republican congressman from Nebraska. Our staff writer **Meg Greenfield** disentangles the uninspiring history of this piece of legislation nearly everybody could have done without. . . . Take another bill, one that the administration claims as a great victory. If the activities of the lobbyists during this session's tax bill are any indication of what we may expect during the next, the future is far from bright. **Julius Duscha** is with the Washington *Post*. . . . Finally take a bill that failed—and one of the most important. By February 6, both the chambers had passed substantial aid to help our colleges and universities in their present financial plight. There was so much bickering and so little real leadership during the next eight months, however, that the session ended with no bill at all. **Douglass Cater,** our Washington editor, reports on the futility of the proceedings.

Edmond Taylor, our European correspondent, discusses the conflict between de Gaulle and every organized French party with the possible exception of his own (though de Gaulle never cared much for that one either). . . . **Denis Warner,** an Australian journalist, writes from Thailand that the government at Bangkok finds itself confronted with well-developed plans for one of those "wars of national liberation" in the northeast. . . . What with the smog and the Dodgers and the Hollywood Freeway, Los Angeles has more than its share of unique miseries. **Wesley Marx** explores yet another: the "special-purpose city." Mr. Marx is a contributing editor to the *Los Angeles Magazine*. . . . **William H. Hessler,** of the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* writes about one November election that is already a foregone conclusion: in Ohio there is going to be a landslide. A Taft is going to win and—of all people—a Kennedy is going to lose. . . . In July, after a tempest in Parliament and the press, Britain passed a bill placing restrictions on immigration from Commonwealth countries. **Frank R. Chesley** discusses the background of the bill, which its opponents have bluntly called a color bar. Mr. Chesley is with Reuters in London. . . . The Poles, Communist or otherwise, have no inclination to forgo their taste for toothsome pastries. But a master pastry cook cannot easily carry on his art within the cramping confines of the Communist state. Therefore a man like Jerzy Blikle, who makes the best pastry in Warsaw, is allowed to engage in the horrors of free enterprise. **Richard Grenier,** deputy correspondent of the *Financial Times* in Paris, discusses the implications of all this.

Tom Burnam teaches in the humanities department at Colorado State. . . . **Edward Jablonski's** most recent book is *George Gershwin* (Putnam). . . . **Jay Jacobs** discusses his career as a radio personality. . . . **Elie Abel** is with NBC News in Washington. . . . **Marya Mannes** is taking a brief leave of absence to do some writing on her own. However, an associate of hers by the name of Sec is still very much with us.

Our cover for this issue is by **Gregorio Prestopino.**

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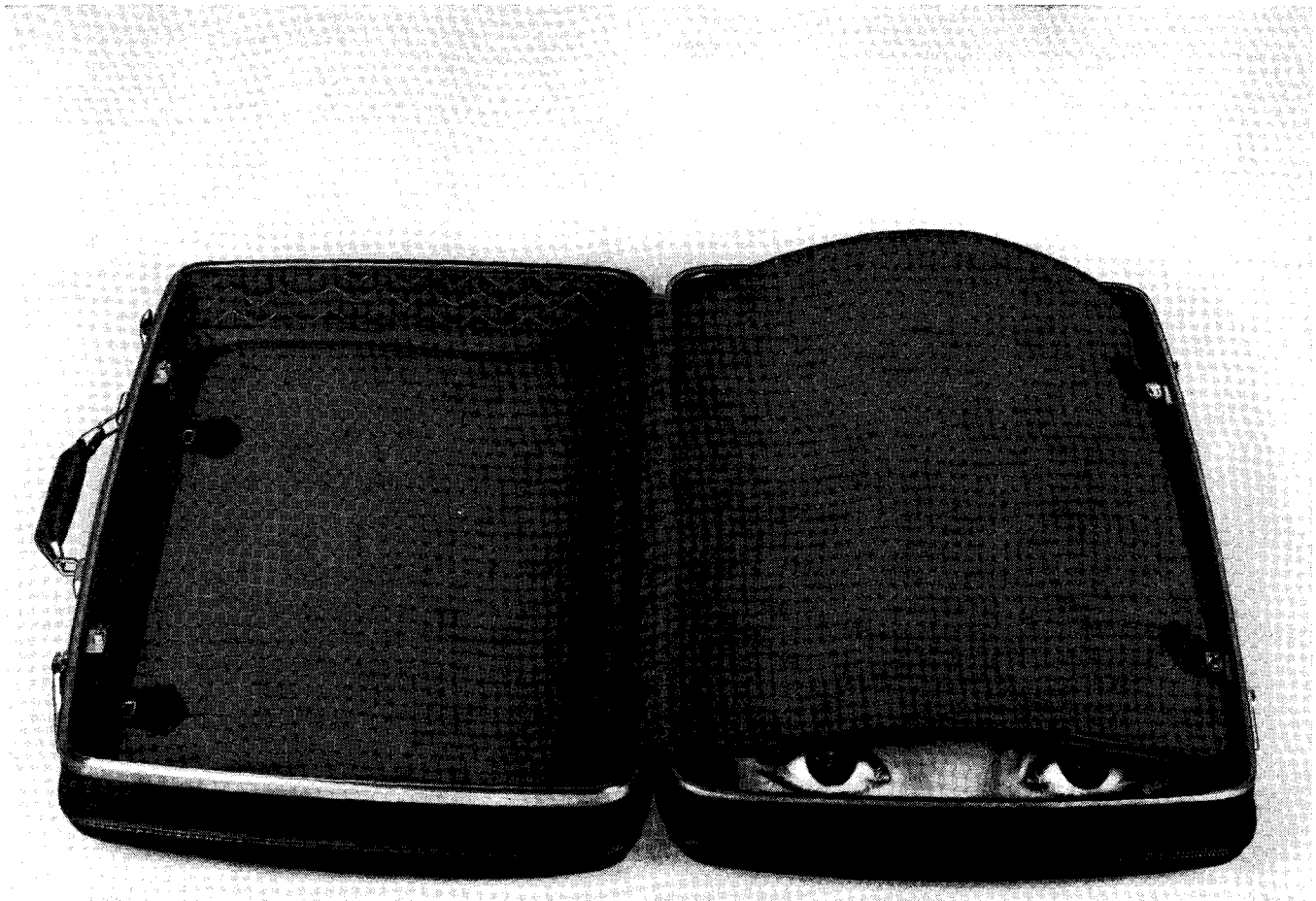

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APPRECIATION

To the Editor: Among the many things I appreciate about *The Reporter* and its editor, several struck me today as I was reading your tributes to Mr. Frankfurter and Mr. Goldberg in The Reporter's Notes of September 13. I realized that I attribute some of their qualities to you also—a devotion to freedom, soundness of judgment, wisdom, and objectivity. Though I think of you and your periodical as being "liberal," here, too, the label isn't big enough to fit. I read your editorials and the rest of the magazine with full confidence in the accuracy of your reporting and in opinions given without prior commitments or bias. As a housewife, mother, and ex-social worker trying to keep informed about the world around me, I wouldn't know where else to look for this. My husband, a music professor here at the University of Iowa, feels the same way. And the scope of interests covered by *The Reporter* has been broadening and educational for me over the years.

Doris Moe
Iowa City, Iowa

CUBA

To the Editor: Leo Sauvage ("Castro's Foreign Legion," *The Reporter*, September 27) overlooks one of the more obvious reasons for the Soviet arms shipments, namely that they are the most ostensible means whereby the Russians can play upon the suspicion of Latin Americans that the "Yanquis" are preparing to intervene in Cuba again, on a grander scale than the Bay of Pigs assault. The responsive chorus of interventionist threats in the halls of Congress lends even greater credence to this suspicion.

To give Mr. Sauvage his due, it should be noted that he concludes by hinting at a thesis that is both more plausible and a more deserving subject for analysis. Stating that "For Khrushchev, the advantages of the Soviet presence in Cuba must consist mainly in its usefulness to Soviet world strategy as a whole," he refers specifically to its bargaining value as the Russians press their proposals to abolish all military bases on foreign soil and to alter the status of Berlin.

The parallels are many. We are alarmed by the ramifications of a Soviet beachhead ninety miles from our coast, even if the Russians don't conduct U-2 overflights. Our complaints about the role of Soviet "technicians" in Cuba remind the world of our "military advisers" in Vietnam. In effect, Cuba is our "bone in the throat."

Harold W. Juhre, Jr.
New York

To the Editor: One can only be grateful to come at last upon a comment on Cuba that documents not just our wor-

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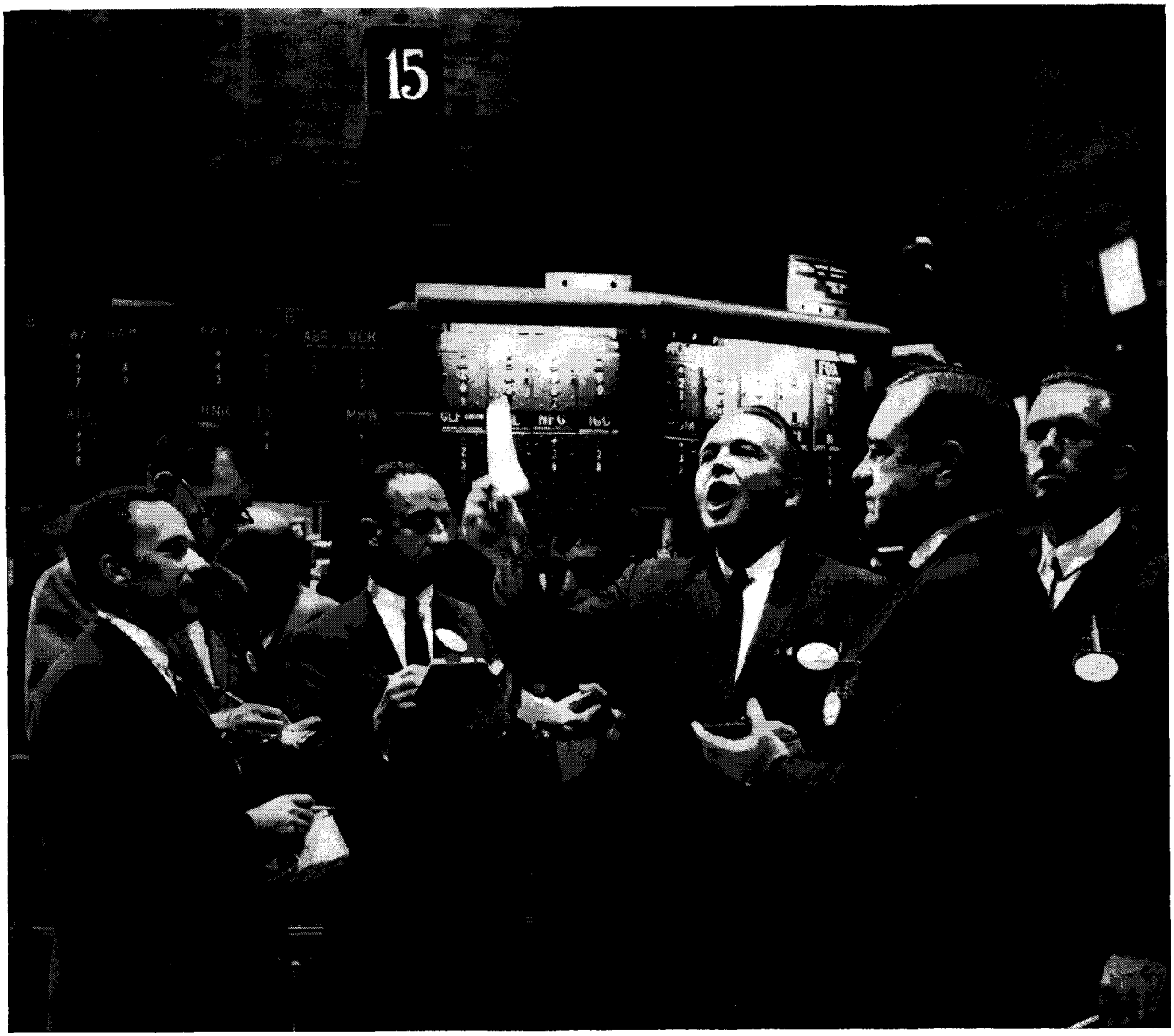

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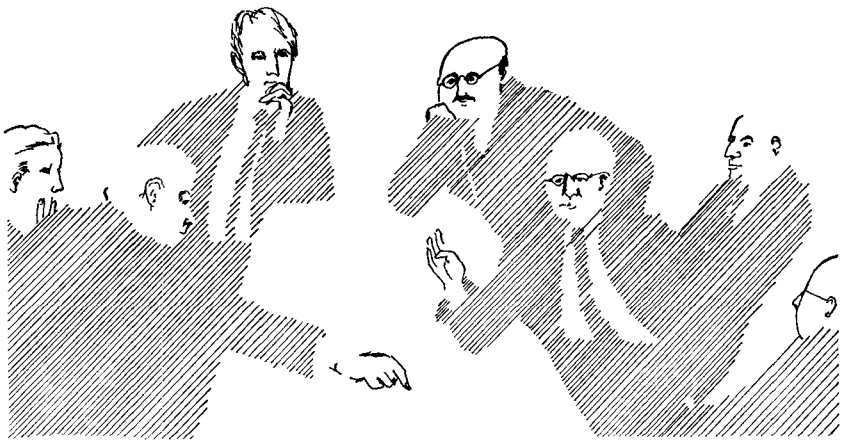

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ries about its threat to us but also the fact that Castro's anxiety must be at least as heavy as our own, while the Russians, too, must be acutely aware that by supporting him they are giving the kiss of death to a revolutionary who, left alone, might have been their best instrument in the infiltration of Latin America. Mr. Sauvage is truly reporting in depth. Congratulations for printing him.

RODERICK FOOT
Oakland, California

THE BATTLE FOR THE U.N.

To the Editor: As a long-time supporter of the United Nations, I was dismayed by the revelations of Soviet duplicity in the article "The Battle for the Independence of the U.N. Secretariat," by Lawrence Malkin (*The Reporter,* September 27). Clearly Russia aims to destroy the independence of the secretariat: I had known that for a long time. However, I had no idea how astutely the Russians had planned their strategy or how likely they are to succeed.

It is true that the Afro-Asians are underrepresented in the secretariat. It would be true, also, that the Soviet Union should have larger representation in the U.N. civil service if only the Russians would be loyal to the international organization and not to Communism. Some way must be found to provide for a more representative secretariat without reducing the effectiveness of the world organization. Perhaps U Thant can find a way. Meanwhile, the United States should never cease to stand for the kind of United Nations whose employees are loyal first to the human race.

PALMER VAN GUNDY
Glendale, California

CONGRESSIONAL TRAVEL

To the Editor: With reference to Douglass Cater's "Who Checks the Congressional Expense Account?" (*The Reporter,* October 11): My views as an individual member of the Congress do not vary from my views as a member of the Committee on House Administration. In my opinion, members should be required to make periodic inspection trips, not only here in the United States but abroad. As a member of the Science and Astronautics Committee, I, for example, am more able to intelligently interpret the testimony, the budgetary requests, and the decisions we are called upon to make because I have visited a few of our space agencies. Similarly, it is difficult to evaluate the need or lack of need of foreign aid, for another example, in Borneo if one has never set foot in any foreign land. Travel to those places where our government has business is a vital part of a member's education.

I do not condone the pleasure jaunts that are best typified by the recent junket of Representative Adam Clayton Powell. His conduct was, in my opinion,

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They advocate a dangerous course, for when government owns business, it has in its hands both political *and* economic power—the means of controlling goods and jobs. With power thus concentrated it can become difficult indeed for individuals to preserve their basic freedoms.

Isn't it time to call a halt to the expansion of government-in-business?

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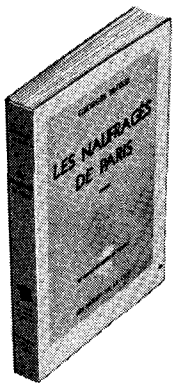

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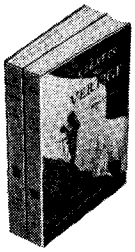

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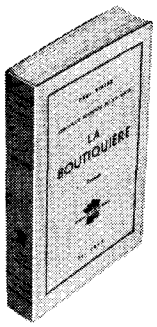

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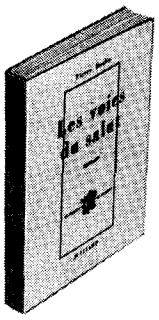

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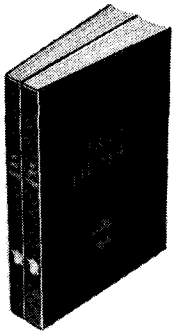

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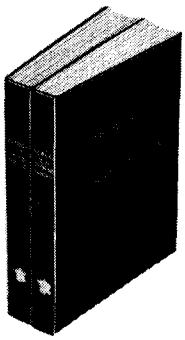

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unbecoming a member. Fortunately, such happenings are rare and unduly reflect upon the members who make necessary trips and make legitimate use of counterpart funds. In brief: one bad apple threatens to spoil the barrel, and it is unfortunate.

JOE D. WAGGONER, JR.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

ONE MAN'S MEAT

To the Editor: I found the article by Dan Wakefield ("The Final Festivalization of New York City," *The Reporter*, September 27) delightfully entertaining and a welcome note of lightness in this sometimes too serious-minded world of people who have forgotten how to find a little humor in their lives.

WILLIAM J. DONOGHUE
Public Relations
New York World's Fair Corp.

To the Editor: I enjoyed reading Dan Wakefield's "The Final Festivalization of New York City."

THOMAS J. DEEGAN, JR.
Chairman, Executive Committee
New York World's Fair Corp.

To the Editor: The humor escapes me.

ROBERT MOSES, President
New York World's Fair Corp.

To the Editor: The solution for New York's problems, as outlined by Dan Wakefield, is absolutely brilliant. The possibilities are indeed endless. If the plan goes into effect, I can see it all now. More buildings can be torn down to make way for a Crisscross Bronx Expressway and a new bilateral approach to the George Washington Bridge so that more people can get in and out of this city fast as they look at that diminishing breed, the middle-class family that lives in the city.

EMMANUEL MOLHO
New York

PRAISE INDEED

To the Editor: I enjoyed thoroughly J. A. Maxtone Graham's article on *The Times* Crossword Puzzle ("The Tortuous Thunderer") in *The Reporter's* September 27 issue.

SIR WILLIAM HALEY, Editor
The Times
London

To the Editor: As an Englishman, now retired, in the United States, I was much interested by the article on British crosswords, with its accompanying sample. My wife and I enjoyed the weekly puzzle in the *Times* Weekly Edition and usually fill out nearly all of it. I completed the sample you printed between lunch and tea.

My wife takes great pleasure in your Acrosticklers and generally fills them out in a matter of two or three hours. Needless to say, these are not the only features of your stimulating magazine that we enjoy.

H. W. GLOCKLER
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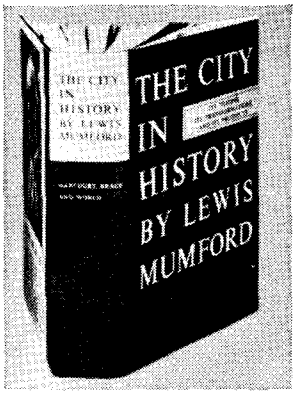

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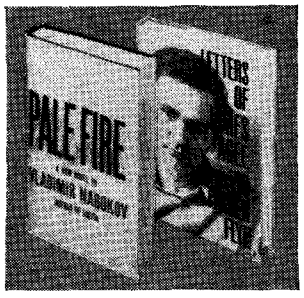

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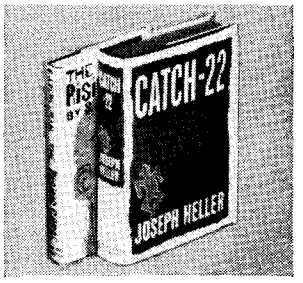

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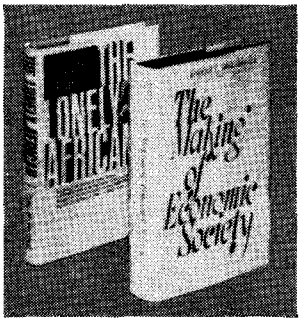

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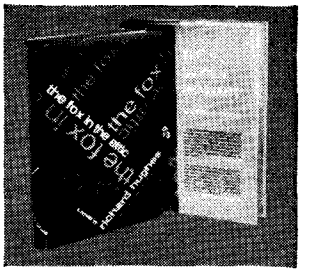

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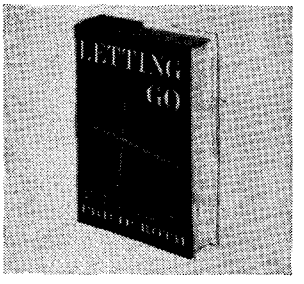

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The President's Big Risk

Until the last moment, we had been waiting for Congress to adjourn before appraising the whole record in the solemn perspective of history. But it kept going on and on, and it has already received so many contradictory grades from so many political and journalistic authorities that we threw away our blue pencil and spared ourselves the trouble of totting up pluses and minuses, qualified by ifs and buts. Need we add that a number of memorable statements were already set in our mind about the promises of the tariff bill, the sickly condition of foreign aid, and the Machiavellian influence of Professor Neustadt's book on our princely President? We have been reflecting on all these weighty subjects far too long and we got tired of it all. In fact, the longer we thought of the Eighty-seventh the greater became our concern with the Eighty-eighth, which the American people will elect this November.

The President, too, is concentrating a great deal of his energy on the election of the Eighty-eighth although it was authoritatively reported that he is "enthusiastic" over the performance of the Eighty-seventh. Obviously, he is capable of far greater enthusiasm if only he is given the chance, and he is determined to win this chance by convincing the American people with all the means of persuasion at his disposal that they had better elect a more responsive, congenial Congress.

From the beginning, the relationship between the President and the Congress has been an uneasy one. There were few President's men in Congress, if any, even though Mr. Kennedy had been a deservedly respected member of both chambers. Indeed, his whole political career had been on Capitol Hill, and among the men supposed to know him best were the members of Congress. But Congressman and later Senator Kennedy was always a "loner," somewhat isolated from his colleagues by age, character, and ambition. When his highest ambition turned out to be successful, the men who had been his colleagues—and particularly those of his party who have had Presidential aspirations—perhaps could not help feeling even farther removed from him.

Yet from the beginning of his term of office, his popularity, according to the Gallup polls, has been extraordinarily high. The man who in November, 1960, received 49.7 per cent of the popular vote won the approval of 72 per cent of the electorate the month after his inauguration. From then on, most of the time he has kept ahead of Eisenhower's Gallup record—and Eisenhower was one of the most popular Presidents the country has ever had. There is not much room for discussion on this point: whatever we may think of their scientific accuracy, until they are thoroughly disproved, some attention must be paid to the opinion polls.

This particularly applies in President Kennedy's case, for Dr. Gallup's figures add arithmetic evidence to what we all know: the President is extremely popular. His hold on the people is broad and strong when he approaches them on a nationwide scale via TV, the supreme medium of direct democracy. He is not a great orator; his image on the screen does not convey anything like what was called the visceral integrity of Eisenhower or the soulful brilliance of Stevenson. Nevertheless, in a way all his own, President Kennedy on the TV screen is immensely attractive and persuasive. Somehow, like the electronic modern cameras, the President seems to have the gift of being constantly in focus. He conveys the impression he wants to convey, irrespective of what he says or how he says it.

On the screen he is neither condescendingly folksy nor self-con-

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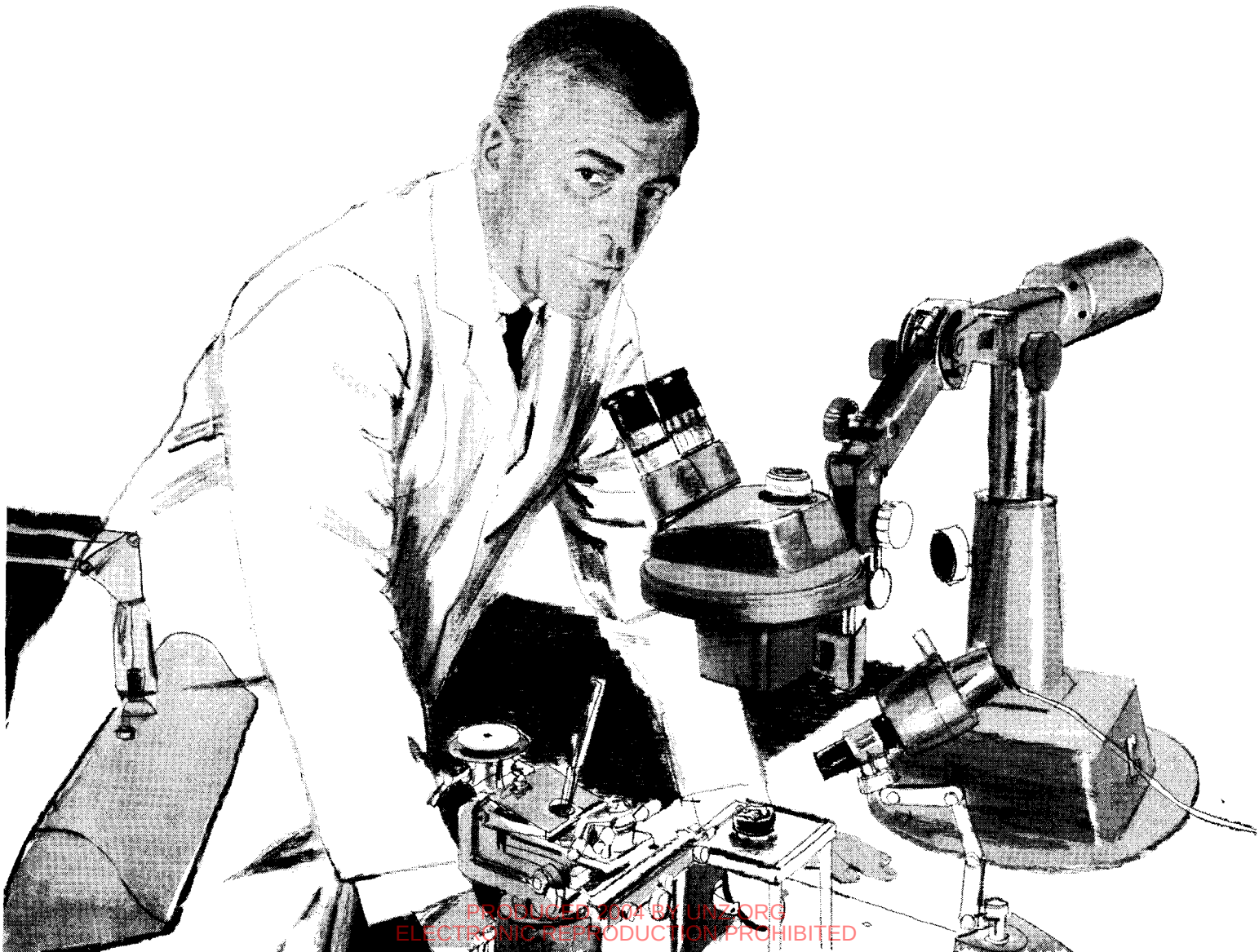

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sciously removed from the average. He appears as a handsome, youthful-looking man endowed with a mature, well-balanced mind. The cadenced, rocking ryhthm of his sentences contributes to this reassuring sense of balance. ("In May of 1962 we stand at a great divide; we must either trade or fade. We must either go backward or go forward.")

For nearly two years, between his national popularity and Congress there has been a brutal fact: in the 1960 election he received but 119,450 more votes than his opponent, and he trailed five per cent behind the Democratic vote for the House. Unquestionably, Mr. Kennedy is the President of all the people; but the slimness of his margin and his having had fewer votes than the Democratic majority in the House—this is something that neither the President nor Congress can quite forget.

Mr. Kennedy proves his mettle by campaigning with so much vigor for a new Democratic majority—one that may be indebted to him for its election. He needs more President's men in both chambers, and he is running a big risk in fostering the election of people who, even though Democrats, may turn out to be too independent of him. Among the Democratic candidates for the Senate, only the one from Massachusetts can be safely considered a President's man.

He is fighting for Democratic candidates as if they were running vicariously for him. But they are not the President, their defeat can hurt him greatly, and their victory is no guarantee of faithful gratitude. Should too many of them go down, should the new House have a Republican majority, then the difficulties of President Kennedy would be incomparably greater than those Eisenhower, that intermittently partisan man, failed to face when both Houses of Congress were dominated by the opposition party.

He is running the risk of having his prestige tarnished. Perhaps this is why Khrushchev has said that he will make no drastic move on the Berlin problem until after the elections. It would suit him to deal with a President humiliated by the electorate—a President harassed by the prospect of facing for the next two years an even more unmanageable Congress.

President Kennedy, a superb politician, is certainly aware of the risk he is running. Yet he runs it, for he knows that TV popularity, periodically certified by Dr. Gallup, is no substitute for a workable majority in Congress, made up mostly of Democrats and a few unexpendable liberal Republicans. He is a brave, a very brave man.

—Max Ascoli

Late Late Show

As October wore on, popular feeling in the capital was well summed up by the Washington *Post*, whose manners are usually no worse than anyone else's: "Congress, Go Home."

There were many partisan explanations of the legislators' continued presence, of course, such as the Republican charge that it was all a White House plot to immobilize the opposition while the President en-

ON HEARING PRESIDENT DORTICOS

There must be something in the Cuban blood
That turns communication into flood,
Deluging all the elements of reason
In one unending verbal rainy season.

There must be something in the Cuban ear
That blunts the true capacity to hear,
Instead absorbing the incessant clamor
Like nailheads welcoming the driven hammer;

A further sign of solidarity,
Perhaps, with their new friends across the sea.

—Sec

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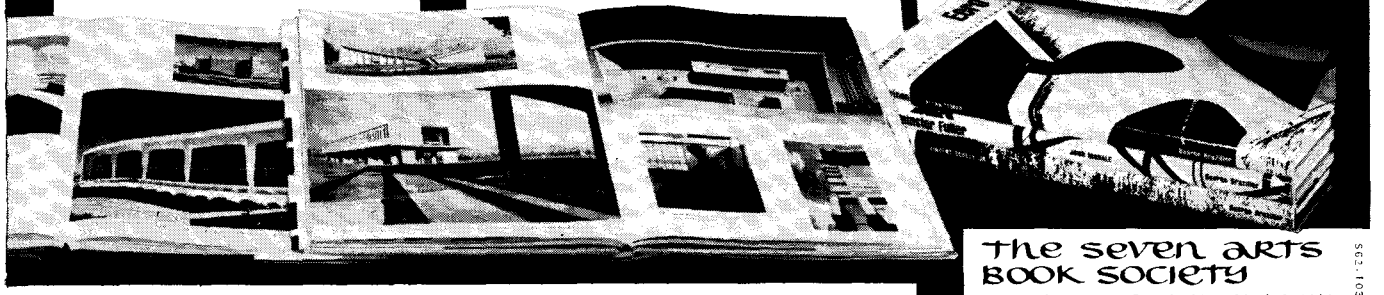

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joyed the luxury of politicking alone. Like most of the other Congressional explanations, however, this one took no account of some relevant facts. One is that many (if not most) of those senators and representatives facing tough fights had long since gone home. Indeed, by early October, the "absence of a quorum" meant its absence from the city, not the Senate or the House. Moreover, while attending to the time-consuming business of primary and general elections during the summer months, a number of congressmen and senators had held up committee activities in Washington, thereby doing their share to prolong the session itself. And while there was no doubt that the expenses of traveling back and forth, plus in some cases absence from home, were hardships, the legislators appeared to be discovering certain advantages in the unusual length of the session. It was first and foremost an excuse not to debate their campaign opponents. Beyond that, it made their opponents seem just a little unfair to be attacking a man who was off in Washington doing his level best to conduct the nation's business.

How anyone could be impressed with the way the nation's business was being conducted by the October Congress, however, is difficult to see. There was all the haste, waste, and frantic quarreling that characterize a Congress in its last stages. The House belatedly became obsessed with the Constitution and started menacing Senate proposals on fine legal points. The Senate became obsessed with the House and let it be known once again that *it* wouldn't be shoved around. Foreign Service Construction Appropriations and Equal Pay for Women were abruptly maneuvered into one bill and just as abruptly killed. "Well, it's bye-bye appropriations and bye-bye women," one staff aide said in a tone typical of the time and the place.

One man who wasn't finding it at all funny was Representative Thomas B. Curtis (R., Missouri), who enjoys among his colleagues a reputation, not unlike that of Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, as one who generally knows when enough is enough. The madcap legislative practices of both Houses at the end of the long parliament of 1962 were

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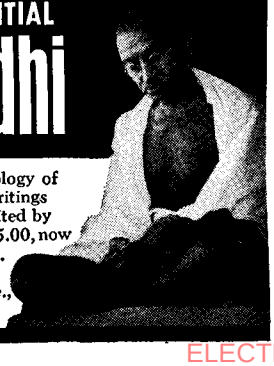

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hardly necessary in Curtis's view. Not long ago, he pointed out that they result in large part from excessive leisure in the early weeks of the session. Between January and March of this year, Mr. Curtis said, the House averaged just over three hours per meeting and managed to give the country only twenty-seven public laws. If the members attended to business during the early days, they would not only be able to avoid late-hour irresponsibility; they would also be able to adjourn in time to pass a few months talking and listening to the constitutents they presumably represent.

Indeed, Mr. Curtis has pointed out, by law they are supposed to. It is written in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 that "the Congress should adjourn sine die not later than the last day of July except in times of war or during a national emergency proclaimed by the President." At the present time, as it happens, the nation is still technically in the throes of the Korean emergency, but Representative Curtis is introducing legislation to suspend that emergency at least partially in Washington. The Curtis measure will declare, we learn, that "to the extent it allows Congress to meet past the end of July, the Korean war is over."

Progress Report

The violence that has accompanied the struggle for racial equality invariably obscures the smaller, inside-page news items that reveal how change is actually taking place from day to day even in the Deep South.

Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins of Atlanta, who said he used to be a firm segregationist, reported with some satisfaction to a law-enforcement conference at the University of California that he has fifty Negroes on his 750-man force, and that they are authorized to arrest both white and colored offenders. "My thinking in recent years had to be changed," the chief explained. "The time has come . . . when an individual cannot be denied any public or official right or privilege because he is a Negro." To a heckler who asked, "Would you like your wife to be arrested by a Negro policeman?," Mr. Jenkins retorted, "Hell, no! Not a white one either."

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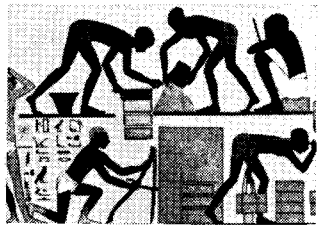

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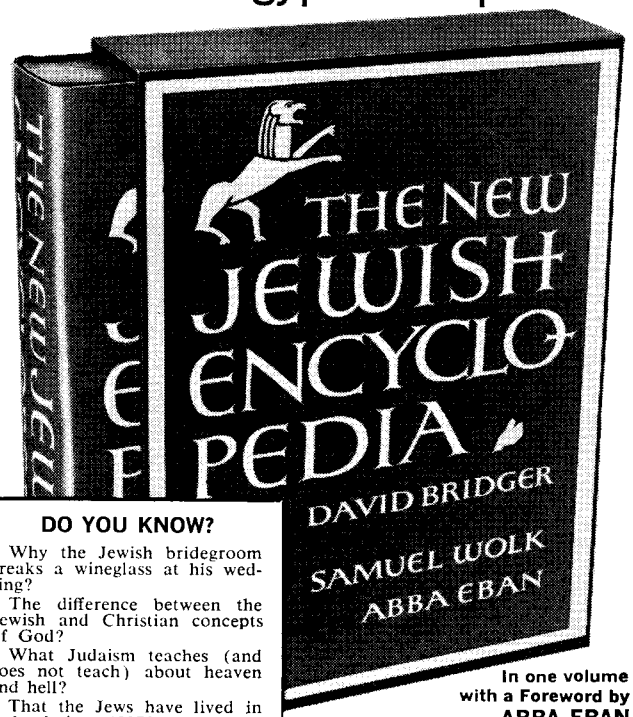

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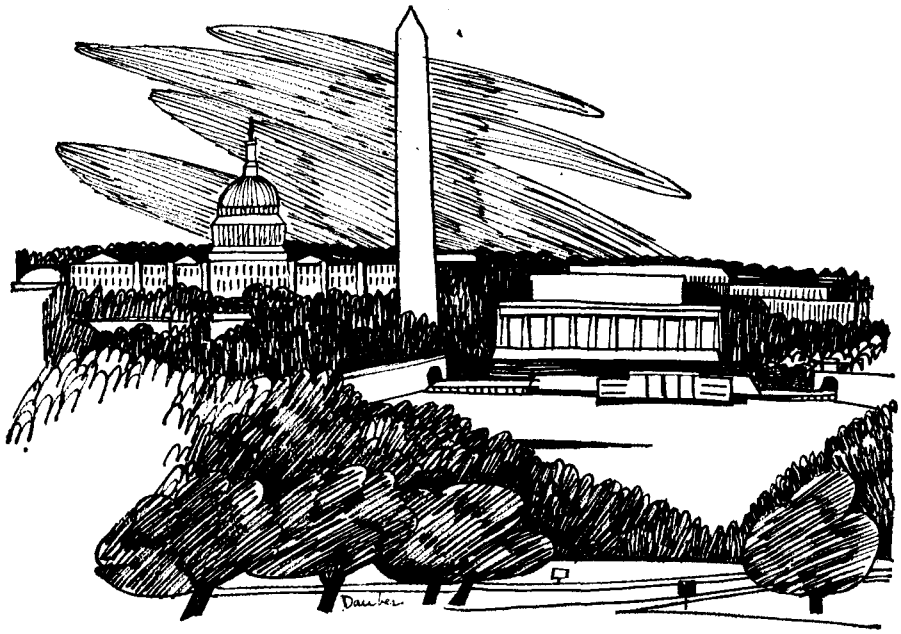

How We Got Protected From Communist Propaganda

MEG GREENFIELD

A FEW DAYS after the Senate had completed its recent action restoring government censorship of mail matter from abroad, Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon wrote a personal note to Senator Jennings Randolph (D., West Virginia). Under the terms of the new legislation, the task of determining which mail is Communist propaganda will fall to Dillon, and the secretary wished to thank the senator for at least clarifying, in a colloquy on the floor, the "much too vague" language of the measure. "I opposed this amendment before the committee," the program's new administrator added, "and my position has not changed."

Dillon had lots of company—and powerful company at that—in opposing the revival of the censorship practices terminated by the President in 1961. He was joined by the Justice, State, and Post Office Departments, the White House, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the United States Information Agency. Newspapers from the Washington *Post* to the Chicago *Tribune* editorialized against its readoption. Nor was it any trick to discover, in private conversation, senators and representatives who, although they voted for the law, believed it to be at best ridiculous and at worst unconstitutional. Nonetheless, the considerable personal and political power of the program's opponents was outmatched by the stubborn efforts of an all but unknown Republican congressman, Glenn C. Cunningham of Nebraska, whose chief distinction is that he is fifth ranking minority member on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The Cunningham Amendment

How could this have happened? Tactical blunders, failure of nerve, and bad faith all played a part. But above all, the year-long struggle between the Nebraska congressman and his well-placed antagonists illustrates some of the perils of attempting to counter the extreme anti-Communist Right without actually seeming to.

The censorship program now being reinstated has never before had specific statutory authority. On the contrary, it had always been a sort of burn-it-yourself arrangement agreed to by customs and postal agents on the basis of various sections of various laws—the Espionage Act of 1917, for example, and the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. It was used in wartime to seize Nazi propaganda and revised at the time of the Korean War in 1951. Prior to 1958, material characterized as Communist propaganda was seized without any notification being given its addressees. Scholars, booksellers, and others began to complain, and in 1958 the Post Office changed its ways—informing addressees that some Communist propaganda was waiting for them and asking them to fill out a form indicating whether they wanted it.

It was all a bit much in the view of the American Civil Liberties Union. In one city a non-Russian-speaking customs employee was supplied with a Russian dictionary and asked to ferret out propaganda; elsewhere a

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Russian translation of *Tom Sawyer* was detained, as were art books and, on another notable occasion, copies of the London *Economist*. Litigation was discouraged, however, since the authorities, when legally challenged, habitually forwarded the material, thereby mooting the case. In 1960, an *ad hoc* committee of the National Security Council Planning Board unanimously recommended that the program be dropped, and on March 17, 1961, President Kennedy did so on the ground that the program served no useful intelligence purpose. There were probably other reasons as well. By then the ACLU had succeeded in bringing suit against the government in Federal court for exceeding its lawful authority and interfering with the mail of three separate clients. The President's order was issued on the day the government was required to answer the charges in court.

While the ACLU promptly dispatched a congratulatory letter to the White House, there was little congratulation forthcoming from Congress. Representative Francis E. Walter (D., Pennsylvania) sponsored a bill that would have established, among other things, a "comptroller of foreign propaganda." As a result, however, of talks with the Attorney General and some of his aides, Walter dropped his bill, and the administration, having won over the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, understandably considered that it had little to fear from the likes of Glenn C. Cunningham, who, on August 31, 1961, introduced what was to become the Cunningham amendment. It was the first time in history, Cunningham has told me, that the staff of the Post Office Committee informed a congressman who requested them to draft legislation that they "didn't know how to do it." And small wonder.

AS FINALLY DRAFTED, the amendment had two parts. First, it forbade the "receipt, handling, transport or delivery" by the U.S. Post Office of mail from abroad that was "determined by the Attorney General to be Communist political propaganda," although Communist propaganda was nowhere defined. Second, *within* the United States it denied the use of first-, second-, and third-class mail rates to Communist political propaganda "financed or sponsored directly or indirectly by any Communist controlled government." "[It] is so vague and ambiguous," said Representative Walter, "as to render it incapable of . . . legal construction." The Justice Department observed that the measure would create bizarre administrative problems such as the stationing of propaganda experts at each of the thousands of post offices within the United States. Moreover, they argued, it would both deprive the government of necessary material coming in from abroad and invite Soviet retaliation. Was first-class mail to be opened without warrants? What would be the effect of Cunningham's proposal on a copy, say, of the New York *Times* carrying the text of a Khrushchev address? "Despite our wariness of domestic Communism," the legal director of the ACLU was to testify, "despite the perils of the cold war, we have never before decided to take such a drastic step."

It was this measure that Representative Cunningham successfully used as a club for the better part of a year. Naturally, he had answers for its critics. Denying the use of the mails was not the same thing as denying the right to read what could no longer be sent through the mails, he pointed out. Nor would the bill prohibit the transportation of propaganda to this country as freight, being picked up by private truck, and then distributed by parcel post. If government agencies wanted access to

outlawed material, they could get it by that method or even by diplomatic pouch. For the most part, however, Cunningham concentrated on one somewhat specious point calculated to give everyone election-year willies: his measure would not *ban* Communist propaganda but simply make its distribution more expensive. "If we are going to raise postage rates for the American people," he often said, "is there any reason why we shouldn't charge the Russians a little more postage too?"

Early in September, 1961, Cunningham caught the administration asleep and managed to get his bill appended as an amendment to the postal rate increase bill in committee. "There was no leadership against it," one congressman who was present explained, "and some people who really weren't for it just didn't want to vote 'for Communism.'" That, in fact, was the attitude the measure's opponents had to reckon with from then on, just as the administration had suddenly to reckon with the Cunningham amendment, which was now stuck onto a piece of its favorite legislation. "This is a gut issue," Cunningham informed me a while back, and he was right. The administration's problem was simply this: how do you dispose of a "gut issue" in an election year?

Everyone Had His Reasons

One way, of course, is to meet it head-on and try to argue the matter on its merits. The strategy for defeating Representative Cunningham, however, was to be made the responsibility of the White House, which co-ordinated Congressional and administration efforts and which acted on another principle—that one good anti-Communist turn deserves another. Four days after the Cunningham amendment had been reported, Representative Walter introduced a substitute bill which the administration supported in committee two days later and guided through the House only five days after that.

The Walter bill called for notices to be placed in post offices and sent to the public as well, informing them that Communist propaganda might be coming their way and telling them that it could be returned to the sender at Post Office expense. When Representative John V. Lindsay (R., New York) asked how the housewife who might receive a notice was to judge whether her mail was Communist propaganda and who would decide whether she was entitled, say, to return a mailing

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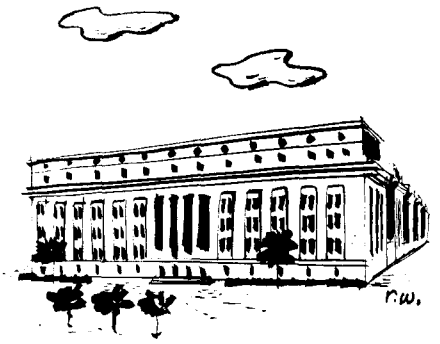
from the League of Women Voters, he was informed by Representative Gordon Scherer (R., Ohio) that he was "straining at gnats."

"How does the housewife know?" Lindsay repeated.

"Probably the housewife does not know," said Scherer, "but she is warned that she has gotten Communist propaganda." Lindsay was joined by another New York congressman in voting against the bill, which passed 369-2 and was sent to the Senate, where it was intended either to pre-empt the demand for the Cunningham amendment or be substituted for it in commmittee.

Indeed, the administration seemed confident that the Senate would make the switch. The original postal-rates bill with the Cunningham amendment had meanwhile been blocked in the House for unrelated reasons, and on January 23 of this year, Representative Tom Murray (D., Tennessee) introduced a revised rates bill that he said had the support of the President and the Postmaster General. It was the administration bill, and it included, of all things, the Cunningham amendment. A move from the floor to delete it did not enjoy administration support and was defeated 127-2. The next day at his press conference, the President denounced the Cunningham amendment, which had just been reintroduced in his name.

Now this sort of thing may seem odd to some, but it is classical counter-anti-Communism in Washington, and the administration had its reasons. It wanted to get the rates bill through the House, and the Republican Policy Committee had made inclusion of the Cunningham amendment a condition of its passage. Moreover, the White House and the Democratic leadership knew the difficulties of getting congressmen to go on record against such a measure. The one Democrat who did, for that matter, William Fitts Ryan of Manhattan, was to have his vote used against him by a fellow Democrat, Herbert Zelenko, in a primary fight in New York last spring. ("I need your assistance to help strike a blow against Soviet anti-religious propaganda which is specifically anti-Semitic . . . ," as Representative Zelenko put it to the



voters.) The congressmen who, though by conviction opposed to the measure, went along with it also could explain their action. There was no point voting against it since it was going to pass anyway, and besides, they could hardly be expected to go out on a limb without administration support.

From the White House to Congress everyone had his reasons, but it is generally agreed now that failing to make a fight of some kind in the House was a ghastly strategic error. The pro-Cunningham congressmen would at least have had some difficulty getting the amendment added from the floor, and a record of even minimal resistance would have stiffened some backs in the Senate. As it was, Cunningham could make much of what had—or really hadn't—happened. He never tired of reminding Washington of the House's "overwhelming display of support" for his measure, and the fact that this support came from Democrats as well as Republicans, liberals as well as conservatives. Moreover, the decision to replace rather than try to knock out his amendment was an admission that propaganda in the mails did constitute some sort of problem, and from then on the argument was on Cunningham's terms. ("We have to have *something*," legislators and administration aides were frequently heard to say after that, although without enthusiasm or explanation.) But those weren't the only blunders made. For reasons best known to itself, on January 21, just two days before the House vote, the Post Office Department issued a press release announcing triumphantly, "Bulletins in all 45,000 post office locations in the United States are calling attention to the possibility that Americans might receive unsolicited Communist propaganda and pointing out that it can be returned to post offices as 'refused' . . ." It apparently did not occur to them that they were doing their cause little good by announcing that the measure they hoped to substitute for the Cunningham amendment (a) did not even require Congressional enactment and (b) was already in effect.

Tangled Strategies

A brief period of calm followed, and then the administration began to quarrel within itself. The departments most interested in doing away with the amendment suspected that some of the others were backing off. Nor were they reassured by what they took to be an overly casual attitude at the White House. A couple of fairly stormy meetings were held. Department spokesmen began to contradict one another publicly. The Justice Department, for example, announced itself opposed to modifying the Cunningham amendment by means of a "white list" whereby certain people with a legitimate need could receive propaganda material. Three days later Postmaster General J. Edward Day told Congress: "There may be addressees in this country who have a legitimate justification for expecting to receive this material such as research organizations. . . . It would seem that there ought to be some provision whereby people who specifically ask that such mail get through to them should be able to receive it." Indeed, the Post Office Department, desperately wanting the rates bill, was prepared to go a long way. As late as July, I was informed by a Post Office official that there "was no administration position" on the amendment. He denied that either the paper set forth by the Justice Department or the President's own remarks constituted more than a request that the Senate consider the amendment carefully.

One unfortunate result of the dissension within the administration was that the burden of opposing Cunningham fell to those who could afford it least. A story leaked to the Washington *Post* in June reported that "State officials said they fear the Post Office Department may be drafting compromise language which also would be objectionable to State in its anxiety to pass the rate bill."

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State officials, the story said, had "suggested to Secretary of State Dean Rusk that he ask the President to speak out again as the best chance of killing the amendment." The President did not speak out but Congressman William H. Harsha, Jr. (R., Ohio), did. "I have today written the Secretary of State," he announced on reading the story, "asking him to disclose the names of those officials . . . who are urging the defeat of this ban. Such an attitude as this is certainly further evidence of the no-win or appeasement policy . . . " Despite their own vulnerability, the State Department and the USIA took the lead in lobbying against the measure, inspired by their genuine fear of its possible effect on their own mailing and propaganda programs.

The White House strategists were far more calm, and tended to dismiss the anxiety of the others as hysterics. Senator Olin Johnston (D., South Carolina), chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, would see to it that Walter's counterproposal was appended in committee, and who could be better than Walter to handle the matter when it came back to the House? Two ambassadors, George F. Kennan and Llewellyn F. Thompson, Jr., are said to have been discouraged from testifying before the Johnston Committee because it was thought that blowing up the issue was the worst way to handle it. To be sure, the strategists already had a "fallback" position in case things went wrong, but in their opinion a secret committee vote, Walter's prestige to get everyone off the hook, and the possible addition of postal workers' pay raises would turn the trick. This was a common view in Washington at the time, and the only disquieting fact was that the very senators and representatives who were expected to go along were inclined to say instead that they would not. "The administration may be in for a sharp surprise," one of them told me.

'It's Not Me, Ed'

As the summer wore on, everyone went about his own business. Representative Cunningham was busy collecting contradictory administration statements, and acquiring one way and another copies of letters other congressmen and senators wrote to constituents who asked about his amendment. Representative Zelenko was calling the Post Office Department to see if it could provide him with some examples of anti-Semitic Communist propaganda. Mail, organized and unorganized, began to pour in to Congressional offices urging that American postal rates not be increased without "charging the Russians more too." The administration did little lobbying of its own. Finally, on August 21, representatives of the Post Office, Treasury, and Justice Departments and Edward R. Murrow of the USIA appeared before the Johnston Committee and urged that the Walter bill be accepted as a substitute. On the twenty-third, Cunningham testified at length. He made fun of the idea of "Congress legislating needlessly to post, in the post offices, signs that are already posted," but it was considered certain by almost everyone that Senator Johnston and his committee would accept the recommendation of the administration.

Unfortunately, one person who did not share this view was Johnston himself, who in the process of deciding that something "tougher" than the Walter bill was required had so informed the Post Office Department, which immediately sent over a version of the old censorship program as something the administration could "live with." He had it in hand when the committee convened to make its decision, although some of the departments involved knew nothing about it. "We could at least have fought Cunningham inch by inch," one furious senator has said, "but it was just an immediate collapse. And they didn't talk about anything they themselves wanted. They always talked in terms of something tough enough for the House to take or for Cunningham or for someone."

HASTILY, arrangements were made at the instigation of Senator Joseph Clark (D., Pennsylvania) and a few other dissenters for Murrow to return and give additional testimony in secret. A different set of White House personnel was appealed to; at the very least modifications were demanded; Clark saw the President. At the end of several days, however, the committee voted 6-3 to include strict postal censorship in the new postal bill. "I would say," one of the dissenting senators told me, "the administration could have been more helpful. They had made their position clear in testimony, but there was always sort of a backroom understanding that they really could live with this thing. And at the end when we called to get other department support, we would be told that they were out of it now." On the floor of the Senate, Clark offered three modifying amendments to the measure, all of which were rejected. When Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Montana) was asked if the mildest of these had administration support, he could not say it had. "I speak for the Senator from Montana," he said.

Under the new law, unsealed mail that comes into the country from abroad and is designated Communist propaganda will be detained. The addressee will be notified that such mail may be delivered only upon request. It will also be subject to detention if it is deposited in domestic mails after its arrival. There is a "white list" of "legitimate" recipients who are exempted from such restrictions. Representative Cunningham has announced that this was all he wanted all along. The ACLU has said it is back where it started and hopes for Justice cooperation in getting a court test.

Who did revive postal censorship? "You know," I was told by one of those present at the last-minute closed hearing of the Senate committee, "the self-consciousness of those guys when Murrow and his aides came back to try again was just incredible. All they'd say was: " 'It's not me, Ed. It's those other guys. You know how it is.' "

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The Tax Bill As Amended by the Lobbyists

JULIUS DUSCHA

In the name of thrift, prudence, free speech, small business, Boy Scouts, baseball, Coca-Cola, old folks, and widows and orphans, Congress created new tax loopholes this year and refused to close some already existing in the Federal revenue laws. The loopholes were opened —and kept open—largely through the strenuous efforts of lobbyists for groups ranging from restaurant owners to power companies. To get and to maintain special tax advantages for their clients, the lobbyists invoked some of America's most revered institutions. By appealing to the Constitutional principles of free speech and the right of petition, Washington's powerful business lobbies even got a new loophole for themselves. Congress overturned an Internal Revenue Service ruling first made in 1919 and added lobbying to the long list of "ordinary and necessary" business expenses qualifying as tax deductible items.

This new loophole gives a tax advantage only to lobbying by and for businessmen. An executive's wife, for example, who works actively for legislation on behalf of the League of Women Voters cannot claim her expenditures as a tax deduction because they are not part of an "ordinary and necessary" business expense.

The House Ways and Means Committee approved the lobbying deduction in 1960, but the bill died in the Eighty-sixth Congress. Last year a somewhat modified version was attached to the President's tax bill without a public hearing. The provision was not mentioned during the House debate on the tax bill this spring. The business lobbyists obviously had done their work well.

When the tax bill got to the Senate Finance Committee, the lobbying provision was enthusiastically supported by business groups that included the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and the Advertising Federation of America. The publishers and advertising-agency representatives argued in the name of democracy for making advertising campaigns conducted by businessmen as part of a lobbying effort also deductible. Congress decided, however, that democracy was not imperiled. The legislation limits deductions to expenses in connection with appearances before legislative committees, communicating with legislative bodies, contacting legislators, and transmitting legislative information between a taxpayer and an organization to which he belongs.

The lobbying loophole is typical of the special-privilege amendments that hitch-hiked through Congress this year on the mild tax-reform bill. Few members of Congress understand taxes. So it is relatively easy for the experienced lobbyists to gain special advantages for certain taxpayers, especially when the pleas for privileges are made in the name of all that America is supposed to hold sacred.

Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Illinois) and Senator Albert Gore (D., Tennessee), who led the fight in the Senate to close tax loopholes, have estimated that the tax bill will result in the loss of $700 million a year in revenue. The Treasury Department places the figure at $545 million and blames most of the loss on the failure of Congress to enact a withholding tax on interest and dividends.

Lobby Spree in '63

But the tax lobbyists were only warming up this year for the main event next year. The 1962 tax legislation was primarily concerned with stimulating business expansion. For 1963, however, the President has promised a comprehensive tax-revision bill to reduce rates and to remove inequities from the revenue laws. This will mean that the entire Internal Revenue Code will be wide open to amendment. The result may indeed be a Federal tax structure that will be free from inequities. But, as Senator Douglas observed during the debate this year, Congress usually opens more loopholes than it closes when it is asked to reform the tax laws.

Both the legislators and the men who benefit from loopholes regard them as equitable provisions that recognize special problems in an industry. Not all loopholes are unjustified, and not all special treatments are loopholes. Some simply create incentives toward ends considered desirable, such as homeownership.

Not only can loopholes such as the new one for lobbying be opened through persistent campaigns; existing loopholes can be kept open through appeals in the name of hardship. An example this year was the successful effort, led by restaurant, hotel, and resort interests, to keep Congress from clamping down too hard on expense-account living. Some expense-account abuses were eliminated, but the changes in the law were not nearly so stringent as the proposals made by the President and the Treasury Department. In fact, one Treasury official said that the expense-account provisions of the House bill, which were subsequently tightened up in the Senate, made "everything from booze to broads" tax-deductible.

Although Congress did clamp down on the use of hunting lodges and yachts as tax-deductible items, it still allowed tax deductions from trips where some business is discussed and for meals and entertainment where some business talk could pop up. Douglas, Gore, and other senators who fought this loose language in the Finance Committee and on the Senate floor believe that all too few expense-account abuses were cleared up this year. Much will depend on the way the Internal Revenue Service interprets the new expense-account amendments.

Within the Finance Committee, the fight against tighter controls over expense-account living was led by Senator George Smathers (D., Florida), who always keeps a close eye on the interests of Miami Beach hotels and restaurants, and by Senator Russell Long (D., Louisiana),

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who is continually concerned about the convention business in New Orleans.

Joining in the fight for expense-account living, too, were the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and the Bartenders Union. The Finance Committee also received a plea from William O. DeWitt, the president of the Cincinnati Reds baseball team, who said that the House provisions cracking down on expense accounts would "greatly reduce our advance sale of season box seats and other ticket plans."

In addition to modifying expense-account living a little, Congress placed a twenty-five-dollar limit on business gifts, but only after making a concession in the name of a fine old American institution—the presentation of a watch to a faithful employee on retirement. Apparently the exemption was made partly for sentimental reasons. It was not written into the legislation, however, until after a spokesman for the American Watch Association pointed out to the Finance Committee that some companies depend on the business generated by presentation ceremonies for up to twenty-five per cent of their production.

The "doctors and lawyers" tax amendment also finally made it through Congress this year after being blocked by the Senate for five years. So much pressure was built up over the years for this bill that it even generated its own lobby, the American Thrift Assembly. The sole purpose of the Assembly was to get a bill through Congress allowing self-employed persons to deduct from their taxes money put away each year in a retirement fund. Supporting the Assembly were the American Medical Association, American Bar Association, American Dental Association, National Association of Real Estate Boards, American Institute of Architects, and the National Society of Professional Engineers.

THE LEGISLATION, known in recent years as H.R. 10, permits a self-employed person to deduct up to $1,250 a year of the money he puts into a pension fund. The legislation originated in the early 1950's and the principle was endorsed by President Eisenhower in his 1952 campaign. But the Treasury Department has consistently resisted the exemption because of its fears of the size of the loophole that would be opened up. In 1957, Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R., Illinois) opposed the amendment because he said it "would open a $3-billion hole in Federal revenues over a period of years." The Treasury Department estimates a revenue loss in the first year alone of $345 million. But this year Dirksen, running for re-election and heavily dependent on doctors and lawyers for support, backed the amendment.

If savings by a professional man for his retirement are tax-deductible, the bill's opponents ask, why should not money saved for retirement by a workingman without a pension be given the same treatment? The real

argument against H.R. 10 is that it threatens to open up a whole new field of loopholes in the name of thrift and savings.

This new loophole, which had been approved three times by the House since 1957 but never before by the Senate, got through partly on the momentum of the tax bill (though it was considered separately) and partly because Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana agreed to accept the legislation to prevent a bitter floor fight.

An early starter in the jockeying over revenue legislation this year was the drive by savings and loan associations to prevent the enactment of legislation requiring the withholding of taxes on interest and dividends. The House approved the withholding provision but it was dropped by the Senate, which, as is so often the case in tax bills, prevailed in the Senate-House conference committee. Thus an estimated $880 million a year that the withholding provision would have recovered in taxes was lost.

Intimidation by Mail

The savings and loan institutions, which would have had to withhold the taxes on the interest they paid to their shareholders, stimulated a massive letter-writing campaign that, as one senator said, "intimidated the Senate." Senator Douglas, for example, got 75,000 letters in opposition to the withholding provision. (The mail did not intimidate Douglas, however; he led the Senate fight for withholding.) The letters showed that many taxpayers seemed to be misled into believing that a new tax was going to be levied against them. Much of this misconception resulted from the way in which savings and loan associations worded letters to their shareholders about the withholding provision.

Another part of the campaign by the savings and loan associations in opposition to the tax bill was directed against proposals to increase taxes on the earnings of the associations. Shareholders were invited to join in this campaign, too, and most of them managed to mention it in their letters. As a result there was only a moderate increase in these taxes.

The private utilities, which have always had one of the most effective lobbies on Capitol Hill, were not forgotten either. They were included, at a reduced rate, in the investment tax-credit provisions of the legislation, although it was generally agreed that it wouldn't have made any difference in their expansion programs. American Telephone & Telegraph said that it did not want the investment-credit provision, but spokesmen for private power companies argued eagerly and effectively for it.

The Senate Finance Committee, under the domination of its chairman, Senator Harry F. Byrd (D., Virginia), is generally blamed for shooting tax bills full of loopholes. The committee is indeed good at

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such work, but the loophole story is not quite that simple.

If the tax laws are to be improved next year and if the genuine inequities are to be removed from the legislation, senators and representatives will have to prepare themselves for the 1963 tax battle the way the loophole lobbyists got ready for this year's skirmishing and already are arming to fend off reform in the big tax-cutting debate next year. «»

Aid to Higher Education: The One That Got Away

DOUGLASS CATER

THE NUMBER of students in the nation's already overcrowded colleges is expected to double during the decade of the 1960's. The sharpest rise, it has been estimated, will come by 1966. Since at least three years are required between plan and completion, it is generally agreed that an extensive college building program should be undertaken without delay. It is also generally agreed that since the colleges themselves cannot finance all the classrooms and dormitories they will need, substantial assistance will have to come from some other source. Clearly recognizing the dimensions of the problem, Congress took up the matter of Federal aid to higher education with considerable urgency when it convened last January.

At first it looked like a splendid working of the legislative process, in contrast to last year when the House killed a lower-education bill by a considerable margin. Both chambers acted promptly on legislation whose basic purpose was to provide $1.5 billion in Federal funds for construction over the next five years. Opposition was almost negligible. The House measure was approved on January 30 by a vote of 319 to 80; on February 6 the Senate passed its bill 68 to 17.

To be sure, the two bills were not identical. For one thing, the House approved outright grants as well as loans for the construction of college buildings, while the Senate provided loans only. The second important difference was that the Senate measure contained a program of scholarships to assist needy college students while the House bill did not. But given the clear determination of both chambers to help the nation's colleges cope with the crisis that is upon them, the similarities between the two bills certainly outweighed the discrepancies. In the early months of the year, it seemed reasonable to assume that the normal processes of compromise and conciliation would soon produce a bill acceptable to House and Senate alike.

It didn't turn out that way. On September 20, after a delay of nearly eight months, an effort at compromise was finally brought to the floor of the House, where it was defeated 214 to 186. That vote killed any hope of a higher-education bill this year. In the opinion of some legislative experts, the prospects of any program of general Federal aid to education may be slim for a good *many years to come.*

THE CHRONOLOGY of what happened during those wasted months while agreement disintegrated into bickering and bitterness provides a sorrowful record of indecision, cynical obstructionism, and timid leadership.

The dispute over scholarships to individual students was a side issue at best. The real fight was over the House provision that funds advanced for the construction of buildings should include outright grants as well as loans. The administration draft of the bill that had been sent to Congress in 1961 specified only loans, which would be available to private and government-supported colleges alike. But testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee made it clear that a loan program would be of very little use to a number of public and land-grant colleges whose borrowing authority is strictly limited. By a nearly unanimous vote, the House committee modified the administration proposal to provide two-fifths of the Federal funds for loans, three-fifths for grants. The Senate, however, stuck to the original administration proposal for loans only.

This raised, of course, the emotionally charged issue of the separation of church and state. Many who would regard loans to church-supported colleges as permissible consider outright grants a violation of the Constitution. To others, there is ample precedent for direct subsidies in such cases. Representative Edith Green (D., Oregon), who was chiefly responsible for the House bill, pointed out that Congress has never made the dis-

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tinction in higher education that it has in lower. One hundred years ago Brown University, then under Baptist auspices, was among the first to receive Federal support as a land-grant college. Mrs. Green compiled a lengthy catalogue of private and church-supported colleges currently receiving loans, contracts, and grants from the Federal government through the National Defense Education Act, the National Science Foundation, and the National Institutes of Health. Since private institutions now account for forty per cent of all college enrollment, she argued, they must be helped in any Federal program for expansion.

According to every reliable polling taken on Capitol Hill early this year, Congress was prepared to accept Mrs. Green's view. Eight months later, Congress clearly was not.

Fateful Delay

Three months of the delay was imposed by the House Rules Committee, which employed its arbitrary powers to block a conference on the House and Senate bills until Adam Clayton Powell (D., New York), chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, had promised that "Under no circumstances when we go to conference will we recede from the House position." No better condition could have been laid down for guaranteeing a deadlock between the two legislative bodies.

After the Rules Committee acted in early May, still another six weeks passed before the conferees first met, and they convened only intermittently afterward. Purely personal considerations played an important part in these delays. Senator Lister Hill, chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, was involved in a primary fight in Alabama. Senator Barry Goldwater (R., Arizona), another conferee, had two children graduating from college. Representative Powell had to fly off to participate in the celebration of Jamaican Independence Day. And most important of all, Senator Wayne Morse (D., Oregon), who served as chairman of the conference, was becoming increasingly testy toward the Kennedy administration because of the communications satellite bill and seemed in no hurry to help the President on education.

The delays, in retrospect, proved to be critical. On June 25, the Supreme Court handed down its school-prayer decision, which had the effect of considerably enlivening the controversy over church-state relations. In late June, Morse suggested that the conference meetings be suspended to give members a chance to study the implications of the court decision.

RESISTANCE mounted swiftly after that. In July, the National Education Association, the powerful lobby of the schoolteachers, held its annual convention and adopted a resolution against grants to private colleges. Other associations in the field of public education—the Council of Chief State School Officers, the American Association of School Administrators, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers—also joined the opposition. Amid this clamor against direct grants for private colleges, many legislators were scarcely aware that most organizations devoted to the interests of higher education—the American Council on Education, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, the American Association of Junior Colleges, and others—were solidly united in favor of the House version.

As the debate grew more and more heated, the administration seemed less and less inclined to take a clear stand one way or another. Undoubtedly most of this indecision proceeded from Mr. Kennedy's reluctance to get embroiled in a religious controversy. While the committees were hearing testimony, administration witnesses took the position that they would go along with whatever Congress decided on the choice between a program of straight loans and one involving a mixture of loans and grants. At a press conference on June 27, after the bill had reached the conference stage, Mr. Kennedy said that he did not believe the dispute raised a Constitutional issue. "It's a public policy matter," he declared, "and I am hopeful that the Congress will report out legislation which will assist schools of higher learning . . . and that all schools will be treated as they are in research grants and other ways, will be treated in the same fashion."

His words did little to help break the conference deadlock. In early August, Congressman Powell announced that he had told the White House that the bill was "dead" for the session, and Mr. Kennedy did not even mention the higher-education bill when he sent a list of "must" legislation to Congress about that time. On August 13, after being chided by Republicans for this omission, he did mention it in his television address on the state of the economy. But by this time Senator Morse, caught up in his unsuccessful filibuster against the communications satellite bill, had called off further meetings of the conferees.

Getting them together was anything but easy. Several of the senators were disgusted by the tight controls imposed on the House conferees by the Rules Committee. Senator Pat McNamara (D., Michigan) still bore a grudge over the House's rejection a year earlier of the lower-school bill. Others, like Senator Goldwater and Representative Carroll Kearns (R., Pennsylvania), were not particularly interested in getting a bill passed anyway.

But the major obstacle, it soon became clear, was now Senator Hill, who in the past had not seemed overly concerned about church-state distinctions. The Hill-Burton Act,

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which he sponsored, provided direct aid for hospital construction, both public- and church-supported. Hill has helped provide funds for the National Institutes of Health, which dispense research grants to a number of church-supported institutions. The National Defense Education Act, of which he was a principal draftsman, allows aid to private colleges for the expansion of graduate education. But Hill, along with his other Southern colleagues, had been under increasing pressure from Protestant church groups back home, and he is facing a fierce if not formidable Republican opponent this fall. Mrs. Green tried in vain to show that Baptist as well as Catholic colleges have been benefiting from Federal aid. Senator Hill was not to be swayed.

The Attack Is Launched

A compromise was finally reached in mid-September, when House conferees proposed limiting grants to the construction of science, engineering, and library buildings. The senators responded by agreeing to change their scholarships into a loan program, with twenty per cent of the loans to be "non-reimbursable"—or, in other words, direct grants to needy students who could qualify. On these terms a bargain was struck. Only Hill, Goldwater, and Kearns voted against the conference report. But that was enough.

During the forty-eight hours before the bill came up for a vote in the House, the National Education Association launched an all-out attack. Executive Secretary William G. Carr sent telegrams to every member of Congress claiming that the grant provision "imperils America's traditional concept of separation of church and state." NEA lobbyists were flown into Washington from all over the country to work on their local delegations.

Hill passed the word to the nine Alabama representatives. (Seven of them had voted for the original bill containing the grant provision and two had been absent.) All nine voted to reject the conference bill. Afterward, one of them remarked ruefully, "There are only so many crosses that I can tote at one time." He was alluding to a freakish mishap of reapportionment that is obliging the entire Alabama delegation, Democrats all, to run at large this fall; against it, a Republican slate of three hopes to pick off the most vulnerable.

Twenty-four other Southern Democrats joined the switch. But the reversal was not limited to the South. When the roll was called, seventy-eight Republicans and eight Northern Democrats who had supported the House bill in January also voted to send the bill back to conference.

In procedural terms, the House had merely voted to direct the conference to eliminate the student-assistance provisions, which has not been part of the original House bill. But no one had any doubt about what had caused the massive reversal. After informal discussions, the conferees did not even bother to meet again. If the bill were to reach the Senate, it was learned, Hill and a few colleagues planned a "lengthy" discussion. It was simply too late in the session to leave any time for maneuver.

The Nose and the Face

Where does the blame for this failure lie? In this, as in past fights over education bills, it is comparatively simple to point out individual culprits in Congress. A share of blame certainly belongs to the administration for not adopting a clear-cut position in advance and sticking to it. And a share also belongs to those Republicans who profess to be for Federal aid to education but always find an excuse, at the critical roll call, for voting against it.

Some skeptics on Capitol Hill dismiss Federal aid to education as a program that doesn't really interest the public and therefore doesn't excite Congress. But this explanation ignores both the lively and growing interest in local school affairs throughout the country and the fact that many areas of policy that do not attract widespread public interest nevertheless get considerable attention in Congress. A great deal depends on the representative groups outside government that attempt to influence the policymakers. Education, according to the bitter testimony of one key congressman, has "the most ineffective lobby in Washington."

Certainly this ineffectiveness is not the result of a lack of effort. The National Education Association maintains a splendid new building on Sixteenth Street and employs a sizable bureaucracy to look after the political interests of its members. Other associations and councils by the dozen are present in the nation's capital to work for what they regard as the improvement of American education. The trouble is not that there is too little pressure from the public but that too much of it is conflicting pressure that seems to cancel itself out in the eyes of most congressmen. "When a responsible educational organization battles against aid to education," President Logan Wilson of the American Council on Education has remarked sadly in reference to NEA's recent activities, "it is scarcely surprising that members of Congress and the general public become confused and lose enthusiasm for all education legislation."

Much of the hostility to direct grants for church-supported colleges was undoubtedly shaped by fears of setting precedents that might be applied to parochial schools in the lower grades. But as Mrs. Green pointed out, these precedents, for what they are worth, have already been set long ago. In playing on these fears, a number of professional lobbyists seemed to relish wielding power in sheer obstructionism more than working to accomplish something worthwhile. Their role during the past few months provoked Mrs. Green to remark at one point during the final House debate: "May I say to my friends in the education profession—and I say this, believe me, with a heavy heart—if they are successful in stirring up enough religious controversy on this. I do not think we will see an education bill in the Congress in the foreseeable future. This is a case of cutting off the nose to spite the face."

There were many losers but no winners in Congress's prolonged and ultimately futile deliberations over Federal aid to higher education this year. And even while the congressmen were deliberating, five hundred thousand students were added to the total college enrollments of the nation.

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France in the Remaking

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S long-awaited offensive against the political remnants of the Fourth Republic seems to be encountering stiffer resistance than anyone—with the possible exception of de Gaulle himself—anticipated. The Pompidou government was considered expendable in the Gaullist strategy, but the scale and vigor of the opposition counterattack that overthrew it earlier this month, thereby formally ushering in the first cabinet crisis of the Fifth Republic, has dismayed many of the general's supporters.

The Gaullists are reasonably confident—and the more realistic leaders of the opposition tend to agree—that the French people are not likely to repudiate de Gaulle by registering a clear majority of noes in the referendum of October 28 on his controversial proposed constitutional amendment providing for his successors to be elected by direct universal suffrage instead of by a comparatively few electors. November's legislative elections, made necessary by de Gaulle's decision to dissolve the National Assembly after the vote of censure against the Pompidou government, are far more worrisome from the Gaullist viewpoint.

Apart from the chronic problem of converting de Gaulle's prestige into ballots for the sometimes undistinguished candidates of the Gaullist UNR who will be flying his colors, the Gaullist campaign managers have to overcome a number of other difficulties. Many French voters brought up in the traditions of a parliamentary republic are undoubtedly afraid that electing its president by universal suffrage for seven years while leaving him the power to dissolve the National Assembly will tip the scales too far to the side of the executive as against the legislative branch. Others who accept the proposed amendment in principle are shocked because de Gaulle apparently disregarded the letter of his own constitution by submitting it to a referendum without first consulting parliament. Larger numbers are probably irritated both at de Gaulle and at his opponents for disturbing the country with an unwanted and somewhat artificial political crisis. The anti-parliamentary sentiment that the Gaullists hope to exploit undoubtedly exists throughout many sectors of the nation, but the triumphant resurgence of pre-Gaullist political patterns illustrated in the Assembly's assault on Pompidou suggests that the forces of electoral habit and tradition may also be stronger at the precinct level than the reformers of the Fifth Republic realize. If so, de Gaulle is likely to be confronted at the end of November with a far more unmanageable National Assembly, and one that constitutionally he will not be able to dissolve again for a year.

IN THE LIGHT of the perilous and uncertain battle that faces de Gaulle, there is naturally much speculation among French politicians and political analysts as to what he sought at this time. Even commentators who think that his strategy is basically sound are inclined to criticize him for serious tactical mistakes. "The chief of the state well knew that the parties were only waiting for the end of the Algerian war to seek their revenge in the Assembly," Jacques Fauvet noted in *Le Monde*. "In launching his project he meant to forestall their attack and to destroy his adversaries on their own offensive bases. But he chose his ground badly."

In Fauvet's view de Gaulle should have forced a showdown with the parliamentary opposition on some aspect of Gaullist foreign or domestic policy that was likely to split the ranks of his opponents, instead of presenting in an unnecessarily provocative way a constitutional amendment that was bound to unite nearly all the country's professional politicians against him. The error Fauvet suggests stems from the Fifth Republic's failure up to now to reform French political life as its leaders once had hoped to do. "Basically nothing has changed," Fauvet insists. "The régime has modified neither the political mores nor the political structures; it floats on the surface of the old currents." To de Gaulle's supporters, the election of a president by universal suffrage is the last hope for regenerating and simplifying French political life.

While many Gaullists do attribute an almost magic virtue to the direct election of the French president that justified throwing the nation into a turmoil and taking liberties with the letter of the constitution itself, more sophisticated apologists

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of de Gaulle's anti-parliamentary strategy explain it somewhat differently. De Gaulle, these sources say, does not look on tinkering with the constitution as a panacea for France's ills and has largely lost interest in the more ambitious projects for constitutional reform that he was considering last summer. Though he sincerely thinks it is important to assure while he is still alive and in office that his eventual successor will possess the moral authority conferred by direct election, de Gaulle attaches even more importance to bringing about a regrouping of the French political parties. "The chief of the state," according to an authoritative article in the afternoon *Paris-Presse*, "is convinced that the chances for democracy in France rest upon the disintegration of the existing French parties and their regrouping in big political formations on the American or British model." To achieve this result, *Paris-Presse* supposes that de Gaulle felt it necessary to face France with a spectacular crisis, without which routine would continue to prevail over renovations. His constitutional amendment is intended to serve that purpose. Hence, also, his calculated snubs to parliament, the liberties that most jurists believe he has taken with the procedure for constitutional revision, and the somewhat provocative tone of his latest TV addresses to the nation. Any less vigorous method of launching the debate would have deprived it of the emotional element that de Gaulle thinks must be drawn upon to galvanize the nation's energies for reform.

NOBODY can yet say for sure whether this subtle and plausible analysis of de Gaulle's strategy really corresponds to his own view of the situation. In particular, it is somewhat unclear how the regrouping and streamlining of French political parties along Anglo-Saxon lines that de Gaulle is said to envisage will necessarily help to achieve the Gaullist concept of a truly modern democracy that, as his latest radio talk proclaimed in a tone reminiscent of recent Papal encyclicals, would include the "gradual participation of economic and social sectors in the national responsibilities." Evidently there are different schools among the Gaullist interpreters of de Gaulle's political philosophy and certain elements of it that he himself is not yet ready to disclose or toward which he is still maintaining an experimental attitude.

Similarly he is taking care to unveil only partially the strategy by which he hopes to smash the electoral offensive to restore the Fourth Republic. In the referendum campaign—which de Gaulle, overruling several of his advisers, decided to keep wholly separate from the electoral one—the Gaullists are making uninhibited use of the government-controlled radio and TV systems to hammer home a few simple themes. Prominent among these is the charge —which contains a good deal of truth—that the politicians are using the defense of the constitution as a weapon to drive de Gaulle into retirement and to restore the bad old system of government by Assembly. To underscore the difference between his Fifth Republic and its predecessors, General de Gaulle himself went to bed early on October 4, leaving word that he was not to be disturbed until morning regardless of how the debate on the motion of censure against Pompidou came out. Next morning, when informed that the censure had been voted just before dawn, the president left the Elysée on schedule to attend the fall maneuvers of the French Army. It was not until the afternoon of the next day, October 6, that he got around to dissolving the National Assembly and taking action on the resignation offered by Pompidou. The action he took was to instruct Pompidou to remain in office with full powers until the next elections, a constitutional but highhanded procedure. If the danger of a sizable negative vote or a wave of absenteeism in this month's referendum seems to be developing, the Gaullist campaign orators will no doubt remind the public of the implied threat in de Gaulle's October 4 TV address to resign if the people fail to support him.

FOR THE REST, de Gaulle, according to his usual practice, seems to be waiting for his adversaries either to defeat themselves or to give him an opening for a devastating counter-attack. So far the opposition has displayed remarkable cohesion, though what Gaullist propaganda terms the "monstrous coalition" of parties ranges from orthodox Socialists to the Pinay Independents, a party that wholeheartedly supports business, small, medium, and big. The coalition has agreed on the text of a joint poster for the referendum campaign, stressing de Gaulle's "violation of the constitution," and it has worked out, at least on paper, fairly impressive agreements for the electoral campaign. There are undoubtedly soft spots, however, in the anti-Gaullist alliance, which calls itself the Democratic Front. The most obvious is the MRP—since its Catholic social doctrines are de Gaulle's own—though its national committee has decided to join the campaign against de Gaulle's constitutional amendment in the referendum. Another factor of weakness is the noisy participation of the Communists in the anti-Gaullist campaign, which worries some of its more responsible leaders and threatens to alienate conservative voters. Other weaknesses are virtually certain to develop in the course of the complex haggling between parties over whose candidate will be given a clear field and in which precincts.

De Gaulle can be expected to make the most of every element of dissension in the ranks of his opponents and of every verbal imprudence committed by their campaign orators. If really necessary, he may finally decide to do something he has never consented to do in the past: personally enter the campaign as the leader of the Gaullist party instead of remaining the aloof umpire above parties, including his own, that he would like to be.

Moreover, de Gaulle undoubtedly has his eye as always on the international situation, notably in Berlin. His supporters certainly will not understate the need for national unity and discipline behind the president if a grave new crisis develops in Europe. Thus Khrushchev is a potential electoral ally of de Gaulle, in the same sense that some of the more discredited and anachronistic leaders of his domestic opposition are. With such allies, his chances are not as poor as they look.

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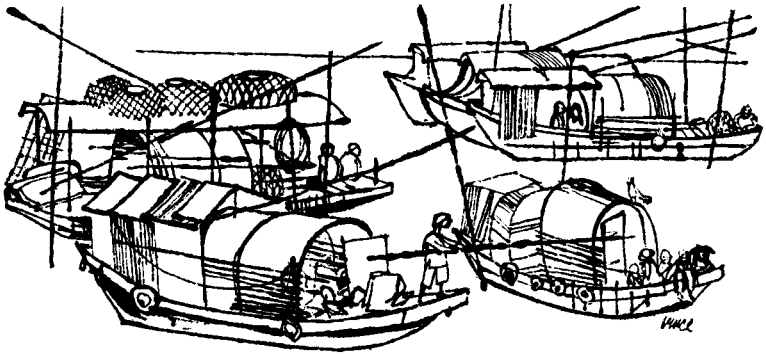

'Aggression by Seepage' In Northeast Thailand

DENIS WARNER

OUBON, THAILAND

COMMUNIST PLANS to create a political base for a war of national liberation here in northeastern Thailand are far advanced. For more than thirty years Communist organizations set up initially under the direct and personal leadership of Ho Chi Minh have been active in these remote and neglected provinces. Yet for most of this time Thai governments have shown no more than a casual concern over clandestine activities, Communist or other, in their border regions. From 1953, the central committee of the Malayan Communist Party directed the Malayan revolt from its sanctuary in southern Thailand; Bangkok officials virtually ignored it. Opium traffickers ran a business worth millions of dollars in the north; the police grew rich on the spoils. Communist agents moved in and out of the northeast from Laos; no one really cared.

Complacency turned into what many westerners in Bangkok took for an overzealous concern in 1960. Because Thailand was opposed to the suggested Vietnam-style partition of Laos, Bangkok was suspected of crying wolf in the northeast. For a time, its revelations of plots and conspiracies were treated only half seriously. Today there are few scoffers. Pathet Lao military and political schools are known to have opened their doors to dissident northeasterners. Pathet Lao agents, some of them even using helicopters, have crossed into Thailand to bring money, medicines, blankets, and guns to their supporters, who include peasants, villagers, minor officials, Buddhist monks, and former members of parliament.

During May, June, and December, 1961, Thai authorities rounded up three hundred and fifty Communist agents and suspects in the northeast, including a former member of parliament who was executed on May 31 last year. Others known to be more important simply moved across the river and joined up with the Pathet Lao, or went underground in one of the hundreds of northeastern villages where the authority of the Thai government exists in name only.

Both western and Thai agencies in Bangkok believe that the arrests last year helped to throw the Communists off balance. They do not think that they have destroyed the Communists' capability to move from political subversion to armed revolt. More than a hundred weapons, including carbines, Stens, and other submachine guns, were seized in the raids. Though important as evidence of intention, the raids were scarcely more than an irritant. The Russian supply lift to the Plain of Jarres and Tchepone has provided the Pathet Lao with more than enough arms for their needs.

"We think a Communist revolt is a matter of timing," said a SEATO official, summing up the prospects in the northeast. "A premature revolt could damage the Communists' cause badly. The longer they leave it, however, the greater their difficulties will become. Our guess is that they will time it to coincide with a critical period in South Vietnam, probably within the next year or so."

Sanctuary and Supply

For centuries the Mekong River, which separates Laos from Thailand, has been more of a highway than a border. In the early postwar years, when the Lao Issara revolted against the return of the French, the northeastern provinces of Thailand were a sanctuary and a source of supply for the rebel forces. Neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma of Laos negotiated to raise funds there by selling Vientiane's water pump (to this day the city is still without its water supply), and his out-and-out leftist half-brother Souphanouvong was nursed back to health in a Thai village when he was thought to be on the point of death from a French bullet.

When things got too hot in Laos, the hard-pressed Lao Issara and later the Pathet Lao could always cross into Thailand and find shelter in villages among friends and relatives.

Today the traditional trade and social intercourse between villages across the river goes on as usual. The war in Laos did not disturb it. In the morning, just after first light, fleets of slender Thai pirogues speed across the Mekong laden with pigs, chickens, and vegetables for the markets of the Laotian river towns. All along the river, the northeasterners would rather take a boat across to Laos than attempt the long, difficult, and sometimes impossible trip over the rough trails that connect with inland Thai centers.

Nine million people, nearly a third of the total population of Thailand, live in the fifteen provinces of the northeast. The overwhelming majority of these Thai citizens are basically Laos, in culture, custom, and language and by direct relationship much closer to the people across the river than to the Thais of Bangkok.

Living among them, proudly and openly for Ho Chi Minh, is a substantial Vietnamese minority, which

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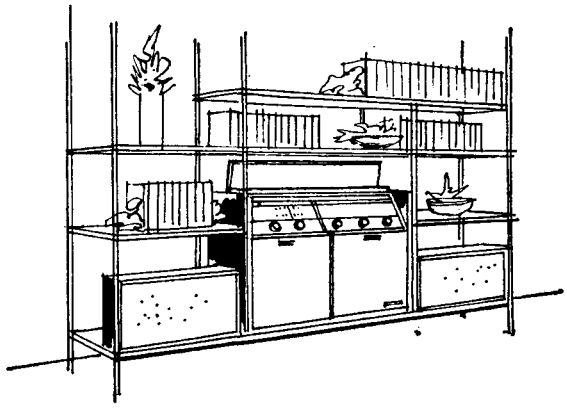

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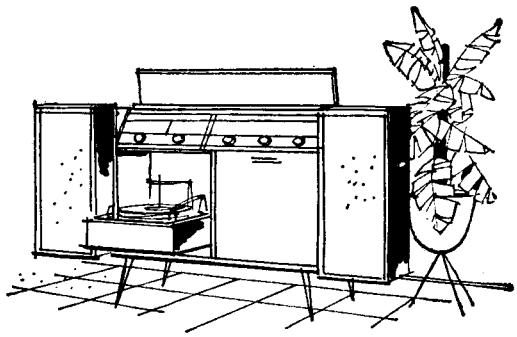

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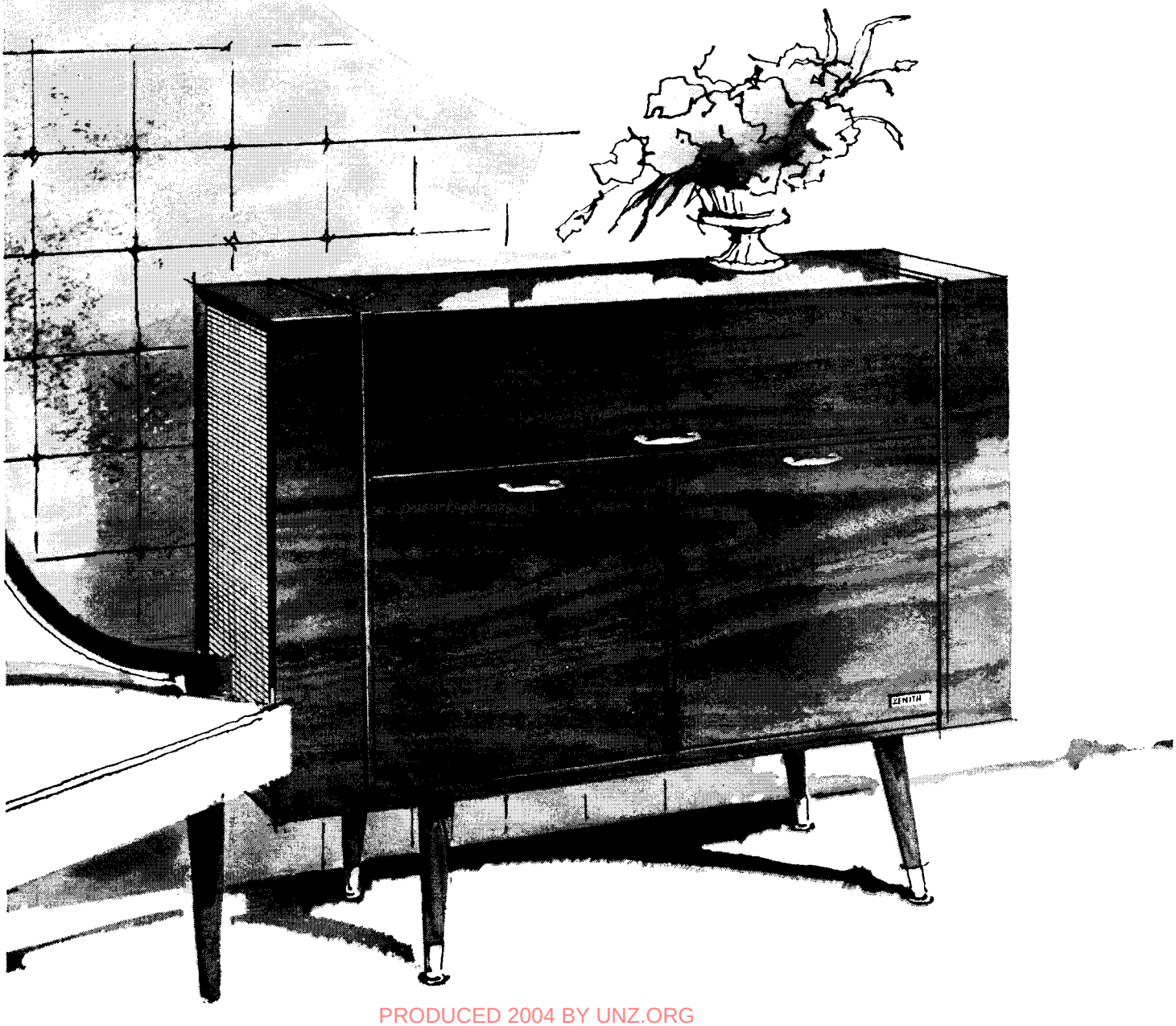

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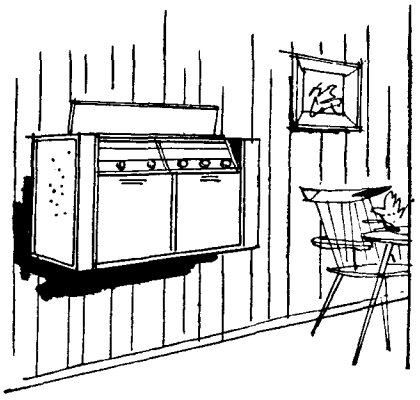

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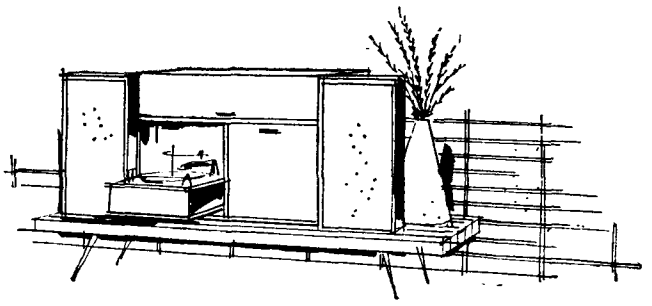

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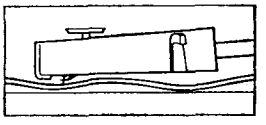

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has recently dwindled by repatriation to North Vietnam from sixty-five thousand to perhaps thirty-five thousand. The first Vietnamese came here more than thirty years ago, fugitives from the French in Indo-China. Ho Chi Minh, who lived among them for a year and perhaps longer in the late 1920's, founded the Overseas Vietnamese Association in Thailand and Laos for the Salvation of the Fatherland. With its headquarters near the Laotian border in the vicinity of Lake Nong Harn, the northeast's only rich rice-growing area, the organization profited from the ill-feeling between the Thais and the French and later from its association with the Thai resistance movement. Some of its members fought against the French in the Nghe An uprising in north central Vietnam in 1930. Many others served with the Vietminh after 1946.

BANGKOK knew little about events in the northeast in those days and cared less. A dry and barren area, it contributed nothing to Thailand's prosperity and got little encouragement to share in the national wealth. Along the south and west banks of the Mekong, French consumer goods sometimes appeared in northeastern shops. Elsewhere, the little that was offered for sale came from local cottage industries and was of the poorest quality.

One indigenous separatist movement ended abruptly in the early 1950's when General Phao Sriyanond, then police chief and a member of the ruling triumvirate, ordered the summary execution of its leader, a deputy named Tiang Sirrikhand. A year or two later, Field Marshal Pibul Songgram, then prime minister of Thailand, decided to make a personal investigation of the northeastern problem as a prelude to resettling the Vietnamese minority in less sensitive areas of Thailand. His concern, which had been caused by the first Vietminh invasion of Laos in 1953, was short-lived. Vietnamese women in the border town of Nong Khai lay down in the streets blocking his motor cavalcade, and some even cut their throats in protest against resettlement. Pibul went back to Bangkok, and things in the northeast went on in their own semi-autonomous way.

The first Geneva Agreement of 1954 spurred some renewed interest in the northeast. With the prospect of picking up the freight on American commodity goods intended for Laos, the Thai government pushed the railhead to the south bank of the Mekong, opposite Vientiane. U.S. aid built the ninety-two-mile "Friendship Highway," connecting Saraburi in the rich central delta with Korat, the gateway to the northeast. U.S. aid also built a number of airstrips and helped to replace hundreds of dangerous timber bridges with new bridges of reinforced concrete.

These efforts, combined with the U.S.-sponsored move to encourage crop diversification in the northeast, helped to bring a new look to the principal towns of the region. Judging by the numbers of bicycles in the streets and the variety of consumer goods in the shops, they also helped to bring about a near revolution in northeastern urban living standards. Villages on or near the main roads and railway lines got some fringe benefits, but even a superficial inspection of the area indicated quite clearly that the effort had not really penetrated elsewhere.

A Chopper at Umao

Among those who went into the northeast and returned convinced that the Thais were no longer exaggerating the Communist threat here was the deputy chief of the Australian Security Service, who turned in a report described by those who have read it as "hair-raising." He was followed early this year by joint Thai-U.S. mobile information teams. Their object was not to probe deeply into Communist penetrations or to launch an anti-Communist propaganda offensive, but by positive means to attempt to create a stronger sense of village association with Thailand and a greater sense of loyalty to the Thai government. A secondary object was to learn more about village conditions and needs and the sources of villagers' news, feelings, and opinions. Teams took along a doctor to give medical help, showed movies, distributed pictures of the king of Thailand, and gave some encouragement of better things to come.

The teams were mostly Thai, but in each case one or more Americans went along and the United States provided logistical and other support. Robert E. Lasher, a USIS field operations officer, accompanied three of the earliest trips.

The teams confirmed the worst reports of regional neglect. "There is no road to any village visited by the team—only rutted, eroded, and meandering oxcart tracks inches deep in dust," the first team reported. "Transportation is so difficult in many areas that many people had never been to the *amphur* [district capital]. Busses ran to none of the villages and most people had never seen any kind of automobile.

"The only difference among the schools inspected by the team are in degrees of poverty. . . ." One village had 160 children and only one teacher. Others used temple buildings as schoolhouses, open on three sides to the wind and dust in the dry season and to the driving rains of the monsoons in the wet.

Water was scarce almost everywhere, and one man was found to have suffocated while trying to dig a deep enough well. None of the villages had electric power. Health facilities were almost nonexistent. And the only offers of help some had ever received had come from members of the Pathet Lao who crossed the Mekong bringing medicines, blankets, and money. They had singled out peasants to act as purveyors of Communist propaganda and to lead in the establishment of village cells. At one village, Umao, the Pathet Lao had even used a helicopter to ferry supplies and cadres. The team investigated this report thoroughly to make sure the information was not hearsay or rumor. Since it was confirmed by police, village officials, and individual peasants, there seems little reason to doubt its accuracy.

ON ITS SECOND TRIP the same team visited another twenty-four villages and made contact with about 15,000 people. While busses ran to some of the villages in the dry season, all except those on the Mekong were completely cut off from outside communication during the wet season. In one district populated by thousands there was only one substandard health center staffed by

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one midwife. Lack of roads in most areas made it virtually impossible for the sick to get to the health centers and extremely difficult for the health workers to visit the villages. Malaria was endemic, and hepatitis, jaundice, liver fluke, and respiratory ailments, including pneumonia, very common. Despite the dire poverty of many villages, most had more than one radio set. The clearest signals, either short- or medium-range, in almost every village came from a Communist station. Peking and Xieng Khouang both broadcast in Lao and Thai. Hanoi Radio also broadcast in Thai.

Neither this team nor others that followed into even more remote parts of the north and northeast wanted to press questions on Communist activity. Team members could not refrain from commenting on the lack of young men in the villages along the Mekong, however. While the rest of the villagers swarmed to look at the movies brought by the team or to receive medical aid, young men were conspicuous by their absence. "They're off working somewhere," was the standard reply to questions. No one would say where.

Yet at these night stops on the Mekong, what the team described as a sizable proportion of its movie audience crossed the river from Laos to see the show. Men, women, and children all came and even some soldiers in the uniform of the Royal Lao Army. "Except for the latter," the report noted, "it was not possible to distinguish by language or dress who was Lao and who Thai in the audience."

A Belated Beginning

Herein lies the crux of the problem. The Communists don't have to march across the border; it is already dissolved. They don't ask the northeasterners to revolt against Bangkok but only to identify themselves with their kin on the other side of the river, to promote a separatist movement based on their racial and cultural affinities and on the fact that the river is a means of communication and trade, not a barrier.

Even in the most critical areas there is less than one policeman to three thousand people. One police officer and two men, with no means

of transport other than their own feet, are often responsible for twenty or more villages. For months at a time the monsoons prevent them from making even routine inspections. Since there are no telephones and no means of radio communication, the Communists could take over many villages without Bangkok's knowledge. The government's administrative apparatus does not go below the district level. Villages, in effect, govern themselves beyond and below the ken of Thai authority. Much depends on a village headman. If he is won over by the Communists, the authority of the police is reduced from very little to practically nothing.

As a start at establishing better contact with the people of the northeast, the Thai government with U.S. assistance took 1,200 district officers from the northeast to Bangkok for a week's sight-seeing and training. This was followed by a similar excursion for village headmen living within twenty to thirty miles of the border.

Training teams from the Thai ministry of the interior have also begun to go into the field with the specific object of bridging the considerable administrative gap between the appointed district officer and the village chief. In a further effort to identify the villages with the government, Bangkok, again with U.S. backing, is sponsoring a community-development program. The idea is to foster the growth of local self-government and to assist the villages to secure and to use the technical assistance they need from the various government services in carrying out projects in agriculture, health, sanitation, roads, and local facilities.

In so doing they hope to involve the villagers in an ambitious social and economic plan that was drawn up a year ago to "raise the living standards of the northeast to a level comparable with those in other regions, and to lay down the economic and social infrastructure for the region."

All told, the government plans to spend $190 million. Since the contemplated local currency investment totals only $40 million, however, the financing of the rest of the project is left to the United States and others. The government has already noted the possibility that "the number of projects will have to be reduced." Even so, it is clear that there is now at least some appreciation of the nature and form of the Communist threat.

REALISTICALLY, however, even if all the funds for the program are available, the Communists have such a head start that armed conflict seems all too likely. Pathet Lao guerrillas can reinforce local agents even more easily than they themselves were helped by the Vietminh, and the captured arms and equipment indicate that the Communists are fully determined to exploit their advantages to the fullest.

The Thai Border Police, a special elite force of five thousand men, guards the frontier. It is well officered and equipped. But though it has the resources to supervise official border traffic, it cannot hope to cope with a thousand miles of forest and underbrush and the innumerable pirogues that shuttle back and forth across the Mekong each day as casually as housewives going to market in other parts of the world. It is a border ideally suited for what one American ambassador in the area has called "aggression by seepage."

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As If Los Angeles Didn't Have Enough Trouble

WESLEY MARX

FOUR MILES from the Los Angeles City Hall lies a powerful industrial complex similar to its noisy, bustling, occasionally malodorous counterparts in other cities—except for one difference. This area of smokestacks and assembly lines also happens to be a city with its own city hall. With more factories (seven hundred) than residents (two hundred and seventeen), Vernon is the classic example of a peculiar California institution, the special-purpose city—the special purpose being to emancipate industry from such municipal burdens as taxes. Vernon's cut-rate version of local government has spawned other similar industrial baronies in the Los Angeles area, and despite the objections of the city and county, the idea seems destined to spread.

California's municipal incorporation rules, formulated eighty years ago, were designed to encourage the cherished American tradition of home rule in a then primarily rural state. A simple majority of the registered voters could approve incorporation in any area with five hundred or more inhabitants. Boundaries are approved by the county government.

Pioneer landholders first took advantage of these well-intentioned incorporation rules at the turn of the century. John Leonis and the Furlong Brothers, who owned land in an unincorporated farming area on the outskirts of fast-growing Los Angeles, decided to develop the area for manufacturing. But they needed to gain control of the zoning of the land, which was under county control since it lay in unincorporated territory. The developers recruited the electoral support of the area's residents, and in 1905 two and one-half square miles of farmland was incorporated as the city of Vernon and advertised as "Exclusively Industrial." With Leonis and the Furlong Brothers as members, the new city council zoned out tax-draining residential areas, zoned in tax-conscious industry, and became California's first special-purpose city.

No Dodgers They

This device proved attractive to corporations that wanted to cultivate and exploit the growing markets in the West. By 1922 Bethlehem Steel had established a branch plant in Vernon and firms such as General Electric followed. The Second World War greatly increased Vernon's industrial stature as Alcoa, Ducommun, and other heavy fabricators arrived to supply Los Angeles's booming aircraft industry. Today, industry in Vernon employs more than seventy thousand workers, or ten per cent of the metropolitan Los Angeles manufacturing force.

Vernon insists that it not only benefits industry but is an asset to the surrounding region as well. By concentrating industry in a specialized area, Vernon's officials claim that it keeps noise, fumes, and the congestion of production away from residential districts. At the same time, Vernon's industries are provided with highly specialized municipal services. The city has more civic employees than residents, and the police and fire departments are skilled in plant protection (and in keeping factory insurance rates low). "We don't mind being called a tax haven or a tax refuge," William Alworth of the Vernon Chamber of Commerce told me, "but we resent being called a tax dodge. We just operate more efficiently."

The special-purpose city's brand of efficiency belies its claim of benefiting a metropolitan area. A city needs industrial tax revenue in order to be a good place to live as well as to work. But by serving industry instead of people, Vernon's property tax of fourteen cents per $100 of assessed valuation is fourteen times smaller than the $1.99 rate of Los Angeles City, where the majority of Vernon workers and their families live. Thus a plant in Los Angeles assessed at a million dollars pays almost $20,000 as its share of the municipal tax burden. Across the city line in Vernon a similar plant would pay only $1,400.

Besides evading a fair share of the municipal tax burden, Vernon often adopts an insular attitude toward the problems of the surrounding metropolitan area. In 1950, the mayor of Vernon had to be jailed before the city finally paid its share of a regional sewer project. Only in the face of legal suits by the Southern Pacific Railroad, the city of Los Angeles, and the California Railroad Commission did Vernon improve a dangerous street intersection known as "the butcher shop." While Vernon taxpayers are spared Los Angeles property taxes, they do pay county and school district levies. They self-righteously point out that they contribute $9 million a year in Los Angeles City school taxes, though there are only forty pupils from Vernon.

Recently Vernon officials, unper-

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turbed by the undemocratic aspects of a franchise based on property, lobbied for state legislation that would have given nonresident property owners the right to vote. The increase in registered voters would have met state requirements for forming an independent school district, and Vernon's school bill would have been limited to the forty pupils. The California State Board of Education was instrumental in blocking the proposal.

METROPOLITAN Los Angeles's booming postwar industrial expansion has helped create three more special-purpose cities: the city of Commerce, the city of Industry, and Irwindale. The latter two, because of some rather brazen civic exploits, have at last crystallized efforts to reform the incorporation rules first exploited by Vernon.

Unlike Commerce and Vernon, which adjoin Los Angeles, Irwindale and Industry are enclaves in the midst of new suburban towns. Some thirteen rock and aggregate companies instigated Irwindale's incorporation in 1957 to protect their noisy and dusty quarries from taxation and restriction by expanding neighboring communities. An Irwindale resident, Anthony Silva, soon gained control of a majority of the city's three hundred voters, and Los Angeles has been treated to a running civic comedy ever since. The city council embarked on expensive projects such as a half-million-dollar recreation center (dubbed the Taj Mahal). To finance such conspicuous civic consumption, the council proposed a tax on the trucks of the rock companies. The rock companies, which had instigated incorporation to evade taxation, not invite it, reacted vigorously. In the ensuing community tension, one company found its entrance blocked by pipes and holes drilled in the street. The city claimed that the obstruction was necessary to construct a municipal sewer. A judge, however, ruled it was a blockade and ordered it removed. Currently, public attention is focused on Silva, who is fighting a deportation order to Mexico after being twice acquitted of vote-fraud charges.

The city of Industry has attracted attention by its size and ambition. "I predict the textbooks throughout the nation will cite this conglomeration of a city as the worst example of city boundaries in the United States," said Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn. The cunningly contrived boundaries, eighteen miles long and varying from two miles to a few hundred feet in width, trail along two transcontinental railroad tracks, prime attractions for heavy fabricators. "Shoestrings," slim corridors of land designed to meet contiguity requirements, wriggle through undesired residential areas to tie up suburban shopping centers. The city thereby collects the state sales tax, which is returned to the point of municipal origin.

While most California cities derive about forty per cent of their revenue from property taxes, Industry subsists handsomely on the subvented sales tax alone, thanks to its concentrated retail and industrial activity. The Industry incorporators, pioneer landholders who wanted to retain tight political control just as Vernon's founders did, so meticulously excluded people that 173 patients in the El Encanto mental sanitarium had to be counted to meet the incorporation requirements of five hundred inhabitants.

WHEN the proposed boundaries reached the county board of supervisors, one official described the boundary outline as a "sausage filled with toothpicks." The board managed to extract some of the toothpicks, but the sole power to incorporate was in the hands of Industry voters, not the county board. John Anson Ford, chairman of the board that reluctantly approved Industry's boundaries, describes the city as "conceived in sin and born in iniquity."

Incorporated in 1957 when it consisted largely of farmland, Industry has followed Vernon's pattern. Already it contains 127 industrial plants employing more than ten thousand people. Only seventy-two per cent of the land has been developed. The largest of the special-purpose cities, Industry could well replace Vernon as the most highly concentrated industrial center in the West.

Industry and Irwindale have converted academic criticism of the special-purpose cities into a search for political action. But like many other state legislatures, California's still has a large rural contingent. The so-called cow counties find incorporation rules quite contemporary. To balance their insistence on local home rule with the needs of the cities, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors has pressed for tighter boundary requirements that would prevent "shoestrings" and for a population requirement of two thousand voters that would exclude mental patients. The state legislature's only action has been to make the requirement five hundred voters instead of five hundred inhabitants and it has restricted such a provision to counties over two million, i.e., Los Angeles County.

Other states have been more receptive to revising incorporation rules that do not satisfy the needs of dense metropolitan areas. In Arizona, no incorporations can occur within three miles of an already incorporated city. In Texas and Missouri, voters of an incorporated city can vote to annex fringe areas with or without the consent of the residents involved. In the Canadian province of Ontario, a quasi-judicial agency approves all incorporations on the basis of the province's general welfare.

Professor John Bollens of the University of California at Berkeley, who specializes in state affairs, advocates such an agency for California with "authority to order annexations of small substandard areas that have incorporated previously." At present in California, only the city concerned can approve its own annexation or disincorporation, regardless of its economic and social impact on the surrounding region.

CIVIC MORALE has never been higher in Southern California's special-purpose cities. Many industrial firms are quite content to exploit the nation's second largest metropolitan retail-trade area from the sanctuary of bargain tax districts. As long as the general welfare can be subordinated to a distorted version of local government, the Los Angeles metropolis will have to live with its "efficient" special-purpose cities.

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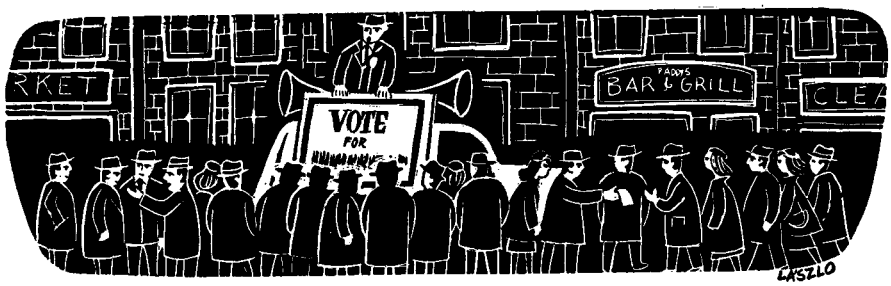

Taft vs. Kennedy in Ohio

WILLIAM H. HESSLER

CINCINNATI

NEXT NOVEMBER 6, a man named Taft will slaughter a man named Kennedy at the polls in Ohio. Robert Taft, Jr., will then make the long jump from state to national politics as Ohio's congressman-at-large on an impressive landslide of ballots. Mr. Taft—forty-five years old, tall, handsome, friendly, and competent—will owe his victory in part to his own industrious campaign and his creditable record during eight years in the Ohio legislature and in part to the aura of greatness with which his father—and his grandfather and other notable forebears—invested the name of Taft.

In still greater measure, however, Mr. Taft's lopsided triumph will be the result of the ludicrous primary election contest last May. It dredged up an unknown, inarticulate, and inept segregationist from Cleveland, and made him Taft's Democratic opponent.

Eleven Democrats from all corners of the state put in for the privilege of opposing Taft for congressman-at-large. The presumptive winner of this free-for-all was John J. Gilligan, a Cincinnati city councilman for three terms. Gilligan is bright, witty, and eloquent, and is an earnest liberal with a close knowledge of public affairs. He also had a record of three victories and no defeats in Cincinnati politics as a reform Democrat. Most important of all, he had the full endorsement of the Democratic organizations in nearly all the populous counties of the state, plus some rural counties, and the unobtrusive assistance of Governor DiSalle.

Gilligan would have given Robert Taft a rough time in November. He not only could have been expected to roll up a large plurality in strongly Democratic Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) but to cut seriously into Taft's vote in Hamilton County (Cincinnati), which Republicans rely on for a good slice of their total Ohio vote. But when the ballots were counted on the night of May 8, Gilligan had lost by 2,582 votes out of 530,404 cast. He was nosed out by a thirty-nine-year-old dabbler in Cleveland real estate with the helpful name of Richard D. Kennedy.

Kennedy left Cleveland only three times to make speeches in the primary campaign, and spent less than three hundred dollars. It would not be inaccurate simply to say he made no campaign. But he led the field of eleven hopefuls in seventy-three of Ohio's eighty-eight counties. Gilligan led in Cuyahoga and Hamilton, the two most populous counties, and in eleven others. But Kennedy picked up votes all over the state, holding his own in some urban areas and piling up leads in nearly all rural areas where party organization was weak. Other candidates, from Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton, collected sizable fragments of the vote. There is no discernible explanation for Kennedy's success except his surname. Confronting a list of eleven unfamiliar candidates for a little-regarded office, 114,831 voters marked an "X" in front of a name everyone knew. Even Richard Kennedy, hard pressed to explain his unexpected triumph, agreed that he was "helped by a good name."

Gilligan got further proof in the post-mortem of how much names mean in a large field of aspirants. Besides the urban counties where he was known or had strong machine support, he led in Jefferson County, on the Pennsylvania border. He hadn't campaigned there, had no known backers there. Why an isolated victory in such a remote place? On inquiry, he learned that Jefferson County for thirty years has had a well-liked county recorder named Gilligan.

He Missed the Bus

Once Richard D. Kennedy had won, the storm broke, for the Democrats of Ohio then learned something about the people's choice to oppose Robert Taft, Jr. Kennedy had sought the nomination for the Ohio senate in 1958, and failed miserably. In 1959 he had run a poor race against Anthony J. Celebrezze and various others for the mayoralty nomination in Cleveland—on a platform of opposition to a fair housing ordinance. Inquiring more closely, Democratic leaders discovered that their man Kennedy had made a flagrant anti-Negro campaign, and now was going to be fought all the way by the NAACP.

Another irony of an absurd primary contest: an aggressive and well-spoken Negro from Dayton was in the eleven-man free-for-all. He had no chance of winning. But he did pick up fifty thousand votes—far more than enough to ensure the nomination of a dedicated segregationist.

Democratic leaders now were thoroughly alarmed. There are eight hundred thousand Negroes among Ohio's ten million people. In an industrial, urbanized state where organized labor usually has been ineffectual in politics, the Negro vote is crucial for the Democratic Party. And the primary voters of that party had carelessly nominated an unimpressive young man flatly opposed to "legislation as a means of bringing about civil rights equality."

There were efforts—how direct and how serious, one cannot be sure—to buy Kennedy out of the race, for a reported $25,000. They didn't work. There were efforts to induce Kennedy to recant on civil rights. He merely said to reporters: "Those are

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my views, and I'm stuck with them."

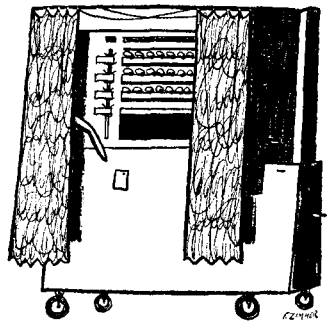
Ohio's Democratic candidates went to Washington for a briefing and build-up. Kennedy went along. But when the time came to board the bus for the White House, for handshakes and photos with President Kennedy, Richard D. Kennedy "missed the bus." Why he missed the bus, neither he nor anyone else has explained credibly. Efforts were made by Ohio Democratic leaders to dissuade the NAACP from making an all-out campaign against Kennedy. "Why hurt the whole Democratic ticket and injure many of your friends," they asked, "just to cut down the vote of a guy that can't win anyway?" The NAACP didn't see it that way.

SOME Democratic committees in urban counties let it be known they would pass out no party literature carrying Richard Kennedy's name. The buck was passed upward to the Democratic state convention, which met in Columbus on September 21 and 22. There Kennedy was given the treatment usually reserved for lepers, Communists, and other untouchables. His name did not appear on the printed program with other candidates chosen in the primary. Then the convention formally endorsed all Democratic nominees for state office except Kennedy. And it approved a strong civil-rights plank for the party platform.

Kennedy lurked in Columbus through the convention, shunning the meeting hall until the eleventh hour. Then he appeared on the floor in time to move for the elimination from the platform of all but one paragraph of the civil-rights plank, including portions that pledged support for the Ohio Civil Rights Commission and support for the poll-tax amendment to the Constitution. Richard Kennedy was completely alone. When his motion failed for lack of a second, he defiantly cast the only vote against adoption of the platform.

A partial explanation of this odd behavior may be found in Kennedy's mail. Once he became the target of widespread attack for his anti-Negro views, he began to get letters from sympathizers on the extreme right wing. The "co-ordinator" of the John Birch Society in one county offered to distribute his literature. Others of like views offered help. With no hope of financial or other aid from the party, Kennedy welcomed his new-found friends. What support he now had around the state was drawn from fringe groups of the radical Right—which reinforced the public impression that Kennedy is not, as he contends, a "moderate" on racial matters, but an extremist. Governor DiSalle promptly announced that he would not vote for Kennedy.

ALL THIS ensures that Robert Taft, Jr., will be elected congressman-at-large in November. But that was likely even without the segregation issue and Kennedy's other shortcomings. In 1962, Taft is probably a better political name than Kennedy in Ohio. But this does not solve Taft's



problem, which is not to win but to win big. Although he is properly reticent about his long-range plans, Taft's eyes are on the Senate, where his distinguished father made a good deal of history. Congressman-at-large is a handy steppingstone. Taft could not very well have run for the Senate this year, for that would have meant opposing Senator Frank J. Lausche, who commands a vast Republican vote on top of his own Democratic following.

In 1964 there will be other Republicans eager to run for the seat to be vacated by Senator Stephen M. Young, the Senate's most uninhibited and carefree member. Former Senator John W. Bricker, although now sixty-nine, seems not to have lost his fondness for the Senate. John Marshall Briley, a conservative Toledo lawyer who is making a skillful race against hopeless odds in opposition to Lausche this year, may want to try again. And there could be others. To get the 1964 senatorial nomination without a damaging intraparty fight, Taft needs more than mere victory this fall. He needs a landslide—sixty-five per cent of the vote, or thereabouts. He may get it, and not just because people are convinced that there are already enough Kennedys in Washington.

No Real Choice

Taft has some assets his father lacked and lacks some his father had. He is better looking, and thoroughly at ease with all kinds of people. He has a hearty, open smile that might be traced back to his grandfather, William Howard Taft, and shows in his uncle, Charles P. Taft, but missed his father completely. Robert, Jr., has an easy manner of handshaking his way effortlessly through the crowds at a county fair. But he seems not to have his father's intense drive, or his single-minded devotion to political effort. There is some doubt whether he has even the same durable ambition to succeed in public life. His record in the legislature is one of conscientious, responsible work, of growing skill in the subtle game of getting bills passed or blocked. But he has not by any means succeeded in matching the volume of legislative accomplishment of his father in the Ohio General Assembly.

On the other hand, Bob, Jr., is more flexible, more sensitive to currents of public opinion, more considerate of the feelings of colleagues. He avoids labeling himself, but it is clear he stands much closer to the Nelson Rockefeller branch of the Republican Party than to that of Barry Goldwater.

Taft is campaigning hard, and in all eighty-eight counties. Welcoming an unexpected issue, he is stepping up his organization somewhat in strongly Negro areas, especially in Cleveland. He supported and claims some credit for the enactment of a bill passed by the General Assembly last year extending the authority of the Civil Rights Commission. He should pick up many Negro votes—far more than the votes Richard Kennedy will collect from the anti-Negro fringe of the radical Right.

The net result is a nearly meaningless contest. A Taft-Gilligan

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race would have been a state-wide contest between two well-educated, articulate, thoughtful young men—one a moderate conservative, one a moderate liberal. Instead, liberal Democrats have to vote for Taft or leave a blank; and devout right-wingers have to get a grip on themselves, ignore the name of Taft, and vote Democratic. The lack of a rational choice of alternatives traces back to blind voting for names, not people—which is well-nigh inevitable when eleven men, none of them known throughout the state, seek the same nomination.

It also seems quite clear that there is something woefully wrong with the direct primary system as it works in Ohio. Already, Democrats are talking of a pre-primary convention two years from now, to recommend candidates and provide some guidance for Democratic primary voters. Mistakes like Richard D. Kennedy are costly to a party. «»

Britain Draws the Color Line

FRANK R. CHESLEY

LONDON

BACK IN 1958, shortly after a number of Negroes had been hospitalized by race riots in Nottingham and on London's Notting Hill, the then Home Secretary R. A. Butler emphatically reaffirmed Britain's ancient Commonwealth tradition: "It has always been the right of Commonwealth citizens to come in and out of the mother country at will, and it will need considerable force of argument to alter this policy."

Three years later, Mr. Butler had the unenviable assignment of steering past hostile Labour and dissident Conservative M.P.s a new Commonwealth Immigrants Act, designed to specify precisely the kind and limit drastically the number of Commonwealth citizens who might enter Great Britain. Passed after five months of violent parliamentary debate and harsh criticism from both traditionalist and liberal newspapers, the act has been in force since July 1. By its provisions, all Commonwealth citizens except students, visitors, and persons who can prove that their livelihood is secure are compelled to obtain a guarantee of employment from the Ministry of Labour before entering the country. "Vouchers are issued to people who have definite jobs to come to; to those who have qualifications or skills of particular value in Great Britain; and, subject to a numerical limit which will be reviewed from time to time, to others who want to come and look for work." Wives, including common-law wives (an acknowledgment of an un-British standard of social conduct that caused a minor furor when the bill passed through the House of Lords), and children of voucher-bearing immigrants are also admitted.

It is not hard to see that an island the size of Oregon, already crowded with a population of fifty-two millions, cannot continue to absorb unlimited numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, no matter what its industries' need for cheap labor may be. The government has stoutly denied liberal charges that the bill is in effect a color bar. But it has exempted from control the nearby and non-Commonwealth Irish, who have always come in a steady stream (seventy thousand a year), unfettered by quotas, visas, or work permits, and this action exposed it to criticism. At one point, under strong pressure from Commonwealth traditionalists and the opposition Labour Party, the bill was revamped to include the Irish. The government later wrote them out of the bill, a move which the Labourites seized on as proof of their charges.

E. R. Braithwaite, the Negro author of the best-selling *To Sir, With Love,* wrote candidly that justification for the bill's patent discrimination was starkly simple: ". . . racial prejudice in Britain has reached a depth and intensity likely to prove a real threat to the public order." Hostility toward the colored newcomers has been greater, naturally, among the lower classes. The man in the pub must vie directly with the immigrant for jobs, housing, and social services. The ill-housed, their hopes for adequate quarters dimmed by long waits on municipal housing lists, feel affronted when West Indians pool their meager resources and cram four or five families into a two-family house. And the continuing annual lag of a hundred thousand units between required and new-built housing will only worsen that situation.

Half a million colored Commonwealth citizens—West Indian, Pakistani, Indian—have settled in Britain since the Second World War. Though nonwhites represent only one per cent of the population, compared with America's eleven per cent, many Britons feel threatened by the invasion. Their fears accentuate the gulf between the islanders—stolid, propriety-ridden—and the newcomers, easygoing, uninhibited West Indians and exotic Asians. Often these fears, suspicions, and pressures have exploded into violence. Notting Hill (which has become a symbol like Little Rock), Camden Town, Nottingham, and Middlesbrough have all seen frenzied anti-colored mobs. The isolated corner scuffles, the Saturday-night fights after the pubs close, aren't even recorded.

Further complicating Britain's race problem are the fringe extremists, gleefully fanning the flames of racial tension. The Hitler-worshiping National Socialists, the National Labour Party, the Midlands and British Immigration Control Associations, and the British Union Movement—led by the dean of the extreme Right, Sir Oswald Mosley—have given direction to whatever subsurface prejudice might have existed, with their sidewalk speeches and their pamphleteering. The racists' parliamentary champion is Conservative M.P. Sir Cyril Osborne, who says candidly: "This is a white man's country and I want it to remain so."

"They're all niggers to me—West Indians, Pakistanis, Indians, Greeks, Malts, Cypriots. I don't count Greeks as really white," said one Midlands Immigration Control official. And it must be pointed out that other, non-colored immigrant groups—Poles

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and Italians brought to work the Midlands coal mines and brickworks, for instance—have also failed to crack the British wall of reserve. For many, "Wogs begin at Calais" is not just a cocktail-party characterization of British insularity. It is a fact.

If the man in the pub is often indifferent or hostile to the principle of racial tolerance, he cares as little for the historical abstractions of the Commonwealth. But the historic rights of the Commonwealth citizen go back to 1608, when it was ruled in a Scottish inheritance judgment that James I was "one king over all his subjects in whichsoever of his dominions they are born." (The abrogation of these rights was one of the reasons that drove the American colonies to revolt against George III.) The august, conservative *Times* has declared: ". . . we cannot subordinate to sheer administrative convenience the offer of the fairest possible deal to men who are tied to us by decades, in some cases centuries, of shared effort, suffering and history." And, later: ". . . the damage, emotional, economic and political, which this bill is likely to do to the already fragile fabric of the Commonwealth can hardly be exaggerated."

The leftist weekly *New Statesman* has put forth the accusation that the government's willingness to weaken Commonwealth ties is not unmotivated. "Legislation to curtail the rights of West Indians is coupled with the decision in principle to admit, under the Rome Treaty, unlimited numbers of Southern Italians. Mr. Macmillan thus hopes both to assuage the racial appetites of his own least admirable supporters and to facilitate a smooth entry to the Common Market by excluding one lot of unskilled labor (Commonwealth, but black) and admitting another (foreign, but European)."

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act is the government's imperfect answer to the stirring social currents, dilemmas, and Hobson's choices that face Britain, white and nonwhite. But if the home scene is far from idyllic, it is also far from hopeless. While the Notting Hills have been thrust into the headlines, thousands of Britons have accepted the immigrants and more than a few have made earnest efforts to ease the assimilation problems of both sides. A Gallup poll taken after the 1958 race riots mirrored a general acceptance of the immigrants, though thirty-nine per cent of those interviewed, even then, wanted laws restricting immigration.

Labour M.P. Fenner Brockway, a champion of the underdog for more than thirty years, has served as parliamentary balance against a small white-supremacist Tory group. Last March he made his seventh attempt to introduce an anti-discrimination bill in Parliament. (Officially, discrimination does not exist and to pass such a bill would necessitate its recognition.) In its absence, several local governments have passed ordinances prohibiting discrimination in municipally- and county-owned housing.

And whatever the justice of the English streets, the justice of the English courts continues to be a powerful, omnipresent guardian of the Queen's peace. The judges have placed a high price on anti-colored pugnacity—British courts are less sympathetic to the "socially maladjusted" than their American counterparts. "Everyone, irrespective of the color of their skins, is entitled to walk through the streets in peace with their heads erect and free from fear," Justice Selm declared in 1958 as he handed down four-year prison sentences to nine young Teddy Boys who had set off the violence on Notting Hill. "As far as the law is concerned, you are entitled to think what you like, however foul your thoughts; to feel what you like, however brutal and debased your emotions; to say what you like, provided you do not infringe on the rights of others or imperil the Queen's peace. But once you translate your dark thoughts and brutal feelings into savage acts, the law will be swift to punish you."

The immigration bill has not solved—and will not solve—Britain's complex social and economic problems. It will not build houses and hospitals and guarantee full employment. It certainly will not erase fear and brutality and race prejudice. Many are convinced that it has sullied Britain's reputation for tolerance and damaged the weakened Commonwealth mystique. But, with all its defects, it will give Britain a breathing spell in which to catch up with problems already created by the colored influx, and will give the Teddy Boy and the man in the pub a little less pretext for participating in a race riot.

Free Enterprise in Poland

RICHARD GRENIER

"Blikle? Why, he's a national hero!," a Communist Polish official exclaimed gleefully. "Blikle is with us!"

Warsaw's master pastry cook, Jerzy Blikle, is dubious about such enthusiasm, but there is no doubt that he is a highly popular man. His prosperous business is an example of the kind of private enterprise that is allowed to operate in Communist Poland.

Blikle, now fifty-six, took over the family bakery in 1927. In the 1930's his shop with its huge attached garden café (capacity fifteen hundred) was visited regularly by Paderewski, Rubinstein, and the rest of the Polish elite. It was such a famous institution that a new Polish period film, *Rendezvous at Blikle's*, is using it as a setting. The café is gone now, and the pastry shop is reduced to the ovens and two modest rooms, with director Blikle's office in the basement. The staff totals twenty, compared with two hundred assorted culinary craftsmen back in 1939.

"Before the war I was a very rich man," Blikle told me. "Several houses. Luxury. Then the Germans came and everything was burned and destroyed. Why begin all that again?

"Now I earn my living. I eat. I travel a bit. I have a new car." He showed me his new henna-colored

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Skoda. "I avoid thinking of capitalist riches."

Jerzy Blikle is president of the Polish National Association of Private Pastry Makers. He sells his small cakes at the controlled price of two zlotys (about seven cents), the same as any other pastry shop, socialized or private, but he says they would be better if it weren't for the government ceiling. For his larger and often quite expensive cakes he "negotiates" prices with state officials. He pays a four per cent transaction tax plus a tax on profits, a sum he declined with considerable embarrassment to disclose.

The community of private traders, craftsmen, caterers, and small-scale manufacturers occupies a special half-world in the present Polish economy. It reputedly includes some of the richest men in Poland and ranges in prestige all the way from Blikle's—which with the Warsovites' love of cakes and pastry has a status something like Sacher's in Vienna—to humble repairmen and retailers who resell gifts from relatives in America. It employs 220,000 artisans and industrial workers and includes eighteen thousand retail outlets and a thousand catering establishments throughout the country.

The principal basis of Poland's claim to possess a mixed economy is the nation's privately owned farms, always the largest segment of Polish agiculture even during the Stalinist period. Moreover, six years ago while other countries of the Soviet bloc were consolidating a virtually total "socialization" of agriculture, Poland was disbanding collective farms wholesale. Private farming now accounts for eighty-nine per cent of gross agricultural production.

Most of those engaged in private commerce—Blikle's and a number of celebrated Warsaw tailors, bootmakers, and silversmiths notwithstanding—are placed low in the social scale. The Polish attitude is a legacy from before the war when values were set by the landed and military aristocracy, but it has not been repudiated by the present régime. Since before the war almost all small shops and a considerable majority of large ones were operated by Jews, this low opinion of trade is probably not unrelated to Polish anti-Semitism. Operating on the fringes of the economy and held in contempt for varying reasons by large sections of the population, the present-day private entrepreneur has something in common with his illegal counterpart, the black marketeer.

The entrepreneurial class has had its ups and downs since the Communist takeover of Poland was completed in 1948. As late as 1950 private catering establishments, for example, still accounted for over twenty-five per cent of all catering sales. By 1953, following a steady decline in private trade and industry in general, this had dropped to less than three per cent. By 1955 it was rapidly nearing extinction at 0.8 per cent. The return to power of Communist Party First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka in late 1956 reversed the trend, the private sector climbing promptly to over five per cent of sales. For the last four years, however, it has been dwindling again. The present level is two per cent of both catering and domestic retail trade.

Today's Polish entrepreneur, with no counterpart in the present economies of any of the other Soviet-bloc states, occupies a position that resembles in many ways that of Russian businessmen in the early 1920's under the Soviet régime's New Economic Policy, Lenin's famous "step backward." An important difference is that the present Polish businessman has the government's solemn pledge, for what it is worth, that it will not eliminate him for ideological reasons but will allow him to flourish as long as he can successfully maintain himself in "free" competition with the socialized sector of the economy.

"I will make no secret of it," a high Polish official told me cheerfully. "We do not think private enterprise has a brilliant future in this country. We think most of it will gradually become obsolete as the quantity, quality, and distribution of our consumer goods improve. But we will take no steps to liquidate it by administrative discrimination, any more than we will coerce peasants into joining co-operatives."

But since what prompted the new encouragement of private trade just a few years back was gross inefficiency of the marketing system, and since consumer goods are still in such short supply as to keep clusters of Warsaw Sunday strollers staring dreamily into hardware shopwindows at curtain rods, doorknobs, and enameled soap dishes, the prospects are that private concerns will continue to be a busy, if small, section of the Polish economy for at least the next few years. Nonetheless, the conditions of operation are hardly likely to attract capital investment from the West. A Polish private operator must obtain prior permission from the appropriate ministry. He must belong to such state-organized bodies as handicraft guilds and associations of private industry and trade, where pressure is exercised from the top. Most of the supplies are controlled by the government. Certain categories of his goods and services must be sold at government-set prices, while others must be sold within established profit margins. He has no effective means of organizing any political defense of his economic interest. And he must pay much higher transaction taxes than comparable establishments in the state-operated and collectivized sectors. Government officials argue unconvincingly that this last does not represent discrimination against the private sector, since socialized enterprises can be made to contribute to the national revenue in other ways than taxation.

The overriding motive of the private entrepreneur is the pursuit of earnings higher than the parsimonious wages offered by the socialized sector, although some of them, ac-

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cording to their own telling, also consider it beneath their "honor" to work for the state. They are hard workers and high producers, and obviously must operate with greater efficiency than the state in order to stay in business. Many of them, such as photographers and hairdressers, have talents hard to come by in the socialized sector.

Other than their skills and labor, however, their only weapons in their one-sided battle with the collectivized and nationalized economy are illegal: they include bribery and false tax declarations.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE is now being encouraged by appreciable tax concessions for trades involved in construction and building repair, agricultural production, and services for tourists and vacationers. Credits are being extended, employment encouraged, and supplies facilitated, and the government has even established a number of training schools for private artisans. It would be difficult, however, to make a confident prediction as to how long this situation will continue.

The long-range prospects for the entire private business community, as estimated unofficially in government quarters are highly varied, depending on the trade in question. Some trades, such as blacksmithing, still of great importance in farm areas, will sooner or later become technologically obsolete. The specialized "artistic" concerns, such as private jewelers, shoemakers, dressmakers, tailors, pastry cooks, custom cabinetmakers, photographers, hairdressers, and producers of fancy leather goods, hand-printed textiles, handwrought silver, and religious articles, are expected to continue indefinitely employing laborers and owning their means of production.

The retailers, the mere resellers of articles produced by others, will disappear as the socialized distribution network becomes more efficient, high-quality goods become abundant, and prices drop. But as an indication of how far Poland is from achieving this goal, I noted that a used Philips battery electric razor was recently on sale in the window of a Warsaw shop at two thousand zlotys, well over a month's pay for an average Polish industrial worker.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

An Evening At the Leningrad Ballet

TOM BURNAM

VALERIE didn't seem to want us to go to the ballet. She was the young, bright, and extremely attractive Intourist guide assigned to the three American couples in a party of some forty foreign travelers at the Hotel Oktober in Leningrad. The others were mostly Finns, who had left Helsinski on the same train with us two days before.

The subject of the ballet came up at breakfast. Valerie frowned slightly. "I don't know that you would

particularly enjoy the production," she said. This surprised us. Valerie, like any good guide, was not one to downgrade the attractions of her city, and Leningraders are even more proud of their ballet than they are of their magnificent baroque subway. Rivalry with Moscow has a good deal to do with it. Leningrad's subway is newer, its ballet older than Moscow's.

"What is the ballet tonight?" one of the wives asked.

"It is a modern one," Valerie said.

"Oh, that's fine," I said. I can take ballet or leave it alone; but given a choice, I would prefer "Billy the Kid" to "Sleeping Beauty."

"But what's it *about?*" insisted Carl Root.

"It has to do with colored people," said Valerie. "You might find it rather dull." I am sure that she was not being sardonic; though she was not without humor, there was no malice in her. I am sure also, now, that she herself had not seen the production. At any rate, we all must have jumped to pretty much the same conclusion, although none of us said a word about it.

"I'd like to see it," said Carl. "Can you get us tickets?"

"Well, yes, I suppose so," said Valerie. "How many would you like?" She was not enthusiastic.

"Six, I suppose," said Carl. We all nodded.

"Excuse me," said a woman seated at a nearby table. "I have overheard. May I, too, get a ticket?" This was Frau Schmidt, small, energetic, and German, who had elected to join our group on at least an informal basis, since like us she spoke neither Finnish nor Russian. She was a widow, traveling alone, and we learned that she was that rare phenomenon in Europe, a woman professor complete with Ph.D. Valerie turned to answer her, and I saw on our young guide's face, very briefly, that slight shadow Russians still show, as if not able to help themselves, in the presence of Germans.

"I believe I can get seven tickets," said Valerie, including Frau Schmidt indirectly.

THAT EVENING we hurried through dinner, knowing that taxicabs can be a problem in Leningrad, as they can also be in Manhattan. We needed a big one for seven, a Ziv rather than one of the smaller

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Volgas. A Leningrad taxi will carry as many as can crowd themselves in —front seat, jump seats, back seat.

Outside the hotel, we spotted a Ziv at last and waved it down. Two Russian youths, quite drunk, yanked open the door and piled in over the protests of the driver. Carl very calmly opened the door again and said, "This is our taxi; there are seven of us."

The drunken youths shouted something in Russian, no doubt rude, and motioned the driver to get going. The driver turned to argue with them and one boy moved toward Carl with an ugly look. I began to be a trifle apprehensive; a street brawl in a Russian city is not a prospect an American has been conditioned to relish.

"Carl," I said, "forget it: Let 'em have the taxi; we'll find another one."

"But it's *our* taxi," said Carl firmly. "We saw it first. Now," he said to the two, "you get out of there."

It occurred to none of us that neither of the youths understood a word of English. But, miraculously, they did get out of there, and at once. Russians seem able to reverse direction with absolute contempt for the laws of inertia. From mean drunks the two youths turned into gallant drunks. Perhaps they finally unblurred their visions, or unstopped their ears, enough to recognize us as tourists and thus, in a sense, their guests. In any case, they could now scarcely tumble out of the black Ziv fast enough; they bowed deeply, if tipsily, and we lost no time piling in. I handed the driver the slip of paper on which Valerie had written our destination, and we were off with a flourish. The driver was evidently proud of his job, and when he shifted gears he flung his hand forward and up like a symphony-orchestra conductor extracting everything possible from the tympani.

Leningrad is a very big city; the great graystone-and-gilt home of its ballet is miles from the Hotel Oktober. We roared down Nevsky Prospekt, our driver conducting his gearbox all the way. Behind us, by what I hoped was coincidence, there followed an ambulance.

In Leningrad pedestrians commonly spill over onto the pavement; our driver took it as a valid objective to spook them right back onto the sidewalk again. When we reached the winding River Neva, we turned left and raced along the built-up concrete embankment, the Neva always beside us. At last we left the river; and a few twists, jerks, and turns later, we were in front of the theater. We did not need to open the door; it was wrenched wide at once, and several Russian faces were thrust upon us. Now what?, I thought. But we eased our way out, gently, and they made reluctant room. An English-speaking Russian in the lobby told us that these were devotees who could not get tickets; they had hoped we would sell them ours, at our own figure.

Like much of Leningrad, the theater is eighteenth-century baroque and does not spare the curlicues. It is a handsome place; the auditorium is spacious, acoustically superb, and quite comfortable. Our seats were good ones. There was a flimsy little program, in blue ink on white paper six by four inches. Though the language had begun to lose some of its strangeness, the letters to look less like a curious form of mirror writing, we could make nothing of the title. Anyway, I thought, it is about colored people.

It was, all right. Scarcely had the production got under way than we had seen (a) a Negro, evidently a student, realizing that his happy college days were over and he was back home when he was brutally pushed to the ground on a railroad-station platform; (b) a beefy caricature of a planter, in shorts and carrying a golf club, lording it over the field hands; (c) a fearful, tremulous, secret, and foredoomed affair between the blonde daughter of the brutal plantation owner and the young Negro home with his B.A.

You must remember that so far as we could know we were the only Americans in the very large audience; we were almost in the center of the sold-out house, in seats we had taken away from Russians, one might say, and we felt very conspicuous. All around us, we could notice members of the audience studying us discreetly, turning to whisper to their companions; above, in the balconies, we seemed invariably to catch someone's eye if we looked up. Certainly there was nothing overtly impolite about it, but I suppose it must have got to us a little.

Anyway, I am sure that as the first act progressed, we all stopped really *seeing* it; or we saw it through the glass of our Americanism, with a rising sense of tension. Of course the dancing and the music were superb; the Russians simply do not permit themselves anything less in their ballet. The audience, caught up in the production, frequently interrupted with bursts of applause. By the time the first-act curtain fell at last, to really thunderous handclapping and cheers, I was almost beginning to feel that the loud approval of the audience, the very smiles and bows of the prima ballerina, were somehow directed at us.

At intermission time in Russia a queer kind of promenade goes on, like the Grand March at a high school's Senior Ball. Several abreast, often with arms linked, those of the audience who do not stay in their seats move solemnly around and around the lobby, which is usually large enough and bare enough to permit this kind of entr'acte exercise. The six of us rose while Frau Schmidt stayed in her single seat a

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row or two away. But we did not feel like joining in the promenade, so we stood at its vortex, while the Russians wheeled around us like slow-motion hostiles circling a wagon train.

"Let's get out of here," said Carl's wife, Lois; "it's fairly obvious this thing is full of blatant anti-American propaganda. Do *you* feel comfortable in this audience?" She nodded at the solemn promenaders around us.

"You afraid they'll turn on us, or something?" Carl asked. "Russians don't act that way. At least, not unless they're told to."

"Oh, I know it," said Lois. "I'm not really frightened, I guess. It's just—well, uncomfortable. Did you see that set? It was absurd. I suppose it was meant to represent the American South, but what in the world was that big billboard, or whatever it was, supposed to mean?"

"The one with the giraffe?" Carl said. "That's all they know about America. Like Coleridge putting tigers on the Susquehanna."

The set had a ramshackle tarpaper hut with Negro children gathered around it, the billboard, and a modern building in the background.

"What was that sign that said something like 'Afrikan'?" I asked.

"Must be Russian for 'Negro,'" said Lois. "That was supposed to show how the schools are segregated, I imagine."

At this point the warning bell sounded, and the promenaders broke up their march to return to their seats. Our group followed.

"You go ahead," I said to my wife. "I want to buy a souvenir program." But the elderly woman who had been selling the programs shook her head: she was sold out. As I turned away, a young Russian with the look of a student about him was at my elbow.

"Please," he said in English, "take my program."

"Permit me, then, at least to pay you what it cost," I said.

"No, no," said the Russian youth. "*Nyet.*" Russians speaking English sometimes seem to lapse into "*nyet*" when they really mean it.

"But this is not fair," I said; I knew the program had cost him thirty kopecks.

The youth smiled. "You are a guest," he said. "We do not see so many Americans in Leningrad, especially at this season." His smile seemed almost to be making amends for something. "Do take it; I insist."

I could not, without rudeness, push the issue further. I thanked him and hurried on in.

Frau Schmidt was in my seat, talking to the others. She rose at once and moved back to her own. Carl and Lois and my wife seemed somewhat subdued. I raised my eyebrows questioningly, and my wife said, "Do you know what Frau Schmidt just told us?"

"She can read Russian, just a little," Carl said.

There was a pause. "Well?" I asked.

"The damn thing has nothing at all to do with America," Carl said. "It's about Africa. Africa, and all the troubles in the Congo, and apartheid, and so on."

"I suppose we should have figured it out long ago," Lois said. "The giraffe and all. I just thought they didn't know any better than that about the South. Everything falls into place now."

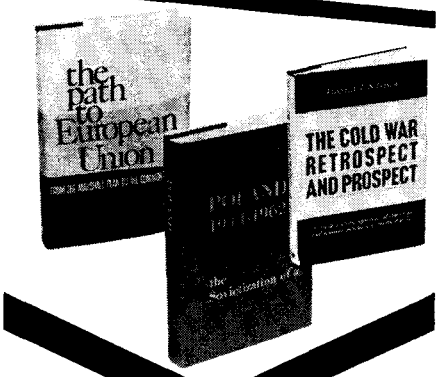
And everything did, then and for the remaining two acts. The burden of secret defensiveness we had carried in the first act—indeed, since our morning talk with Valerie—fell away. Nobody was out after us; though we still could not follow the story line precisely, it was obvious that the pith-helmeted tyrants were the Belgians, the Boers, and (possibly) the British. Our reaction to the rest of the ballet, in retrospect, amuses me and saddens me a little, too. For we enjoyed what followed, I must say, enormously. Something like "Give 'em hell!" must have shown on our faces as we watched the violent plot unfold: this was just the kind of treatment apartheid deserved, by God.

When it was all over, to crashing applause and cheers, with flowers pelting onto the stage in true Russian fashion, everyone in the auditorium standing, the dancers returning again and again, we were all right up there on our feet with the rest of the audience, cheering and clapping. When at last we turned to thread our way out, we nodded and smiled to others in the crowd, who nodded and smiled back in the friendliest possible fashion.

THE COMMON MARKET

THE COLD WAR

POLAND



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Through History With Irving Berlin

EDWARD JABLONSKI

CHARACTERISTICALLY, Irving Berlin has chosen a quasi-political musical entertainment, *Mr. President,* as the vehicle to take him back to Broadway after a twelve-year absence. Since he began composing in 1907, his songs have always reflected, more than those of any other popular songwriter, the American politics, customs, fads, manners, and folkways of their time. No other songwriter has had anything approaching his uncanny sensitivity to the shifting currents of popular interest and feeling.

Berlin's "method" has been to feel the public pulse and supply the songs it wants, and no other songwriter has guessed right as often as he. The turkey trot, the grizzly bear, the Charleston—even *Mr. President* has its "Washington twist"—as well as the dances that sprang up to the accompaniment of ragtime, jazz, and swing are chronicled in the vast Berlin catalogue. There, too, are the horseless carriage ("Keep Away From the Fellow Who Owns an Automobile," 1912), the flying machine ("I Was Aviating Around," 1913), the cinematograph ("At the Picture Show," 1913). Political events inspired such songs as "Look Out for the Bolsheviki Man" (1919), "We'll All Go Voting for Al" (1924), "It's a Walk-in with Walker" (1925), and, in the same year, celebrating the peak of its real-estate boom, "Florida by the Sea." The Volstead Act evoked the melodic comment: "You Can't Make Your Shimmy Shake on Tea." Though none of these rank with the best in the Berlin repertory ("All Alone," "Blue Skies," "How Deep Is the Ocean?," "There's No Business like Show Business," etc.), they are interesting examples of his early work with its emphasis on comedy and dialect. The most popular songs of the first decades of this century, after sentimental ballads, were ethnic comedy numbers.

The early songs reflect the setting in which Irving Berlin served his apprenticeship. By the age of fourteen, he had left his home in New York's lower East Side to lessen the burden upon his widowed mother and found his way onto the Bowery as a "busker" (a street performer), song plugger, and singing waiter. The Bowery in those days was an important entertainment center. For future vaudevillians it was a way station on the trip uptown (not yet Forty-second Street, but Union Square on Fourteenth). It was literally a folk center, blending the indigenous songs of the Irish and the Italians, the Negro and the Jew. The vigor of this musical amalgam, with its impassioned blue note, its earthy rhythms, and its simple though haunting melodies, contributed not only to the developing style of Irving Berlin but also to the displacement of the banal songs of the nineties.

IN BRINGING such big-city ingredients—"simplified, clarified, glorified," in the phrase of Jerome Kern—into the main stream of American popular music, Irving Berlin did his share to give the American popular song an authentic American accent. Sometimes vulgar, sometimes sentimental, though never cheap or maudlin, the early songs of Irving Berlin—and those of the composers he influenced—were free of European harmonic sweetness; rhythms were nervous and propulsive and the melodic curves were dictated by American speech patterns.

Other songwriters, often more influenced by Berlin's financial success than by his musical accomplishment, took the cue. Popular songs, musical-comedy songs, even "serious" music were all to be modified under the impact of Irving Berlin's seemingly endless flow of hits. Some of these hits are by now almost bona fide folk songs, like "Alexander's Ragtime Band," written in 1911 and still going strong, even though any jazz expert—or Irving Berlin—will tell you that it is not authentic ragtime.

The more innocent years of the century inspired comedy, but during the depression Berlin found material in the less sunny aspects of life. This is particularly true of those songs written for Broadway, since Berlin enjoyed a productive, though apolitical, period in the 1930's writing songs for Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers film musicals. Political corruption and the depression were the theme of *Face the Music* (1932), out of which came a theme song of the time, "Let's Have Another Cup o' Coffee." This was followed the next year by the revue *As Thousands Cheer,* with its timely "We'll All Be in Heaven When the Dollar Goes to Hell" and the bitter "Supper Time." "Supper Time" was introduced by projecting a newspaper headline on stage which read, "Unknown Negro Lynched by Frenzied Mob." Ethel Waters, who sang the song, feels it tells "the whole tragic history of a race."

Louisiana Purchase (1940) touched upon the administration and practices of the Huey Long régime, which had ended so violently five years earlier. As political satire it was less than brilliant, but its songs were good. One of the best was "It's a Lovely Day Tomorrow," which had no apparent political significance. Berlin had composed it for an English friend the year before as a message to Britain at war. For his own country he dusted off a number originally intended for his 1918 all-soldier show, *Yip, Yip, Yaphank.* Introduced by Kate Smith, "God Bless America" has practically become a second national anthem and has earned hundreds of thousands of dollars in royalties for the Boy and Girl Scouts of America.

"There is a cynicism about flag waving," Berlin observed recently, "until something happens." His flag waving in the early 1940's culminated, after Pearl Harbor, in *This Is the Army.* This all-soldier show presented the point of view of the ordinary GI with such songs as "I Left My Heart at the Stage Door Canteen," "I'm Getting Tired So I Can Sleep," "Oh to Be Home Again"; the global view was expressed in "My British Buddy," "The Fifth Army's Where My Heart

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When Does A Foot Feel Like Ginger Ale?

A small boy, trying to tell us his foot has fallen asleep, exclaims, "Gee, my toes feel just like ginger ale!"

And we know exactly what he means.

A little girl, discovering the woozy ribbons of color in a grease-puddle, mournfully describes them as "a dead rainbow."

And we know exactly what she means.

If communication going the *other* way—from adult to child—is generally not that effective, it may be because too many grown-ups can't transmit an idea that imaginatively.

In a word, their fancy is much too plain.

Teamwork

At NBC Television, where the importance of communicating with youngsters has never been underrated, we've been working on what we believe to be a very *un-plain* program for children.

Objective: A series that informs and instructs so attractively as to give its young televiewers a genuine yearning for learning.

We haven't been working alone. Over the past five months of preparation we've had lots of eager help from teachers and educational groups.

And from this combined planning by entertainment specialists and educators has come a full-hour, full-color series called "Exploring," whose premiere took place on Saturday, October 13, at 12:30 p.m. NYT.

Each week, "Exploring" makes use of the most modern audio and visual techniques to stimulate young-viewer interest in the language arts, music, mathematics, social studies and science.

Cello Voce

In music, for example, a cello's role in an orchestra is explained by the cello itself—speaking English in tones incredibly similar to the instrument's customary sounds.

In mathematics, a troupe of woodland puppets is commandeered to explain how the idea of counting may have originated.

In social studies, figures from an obelisk are animated to serve as a provocative backdrop for a survey of Egyptian civilization.

On hand as the program's host each week is 38-year-old Dr. Albert R. Hibbs, an awfully smart fellow who's a senior scientist at the California Institute of Technology.

Dr. Hibbs' specialty at Cal Tech happens to be jet propulsion, but he lives in no ivory wind tunnel. He gets around. He's been a consultant and guest teacher in California elementary schools, and his hefty television experience includes a just-completed 39-week science series in Los Angeles.

"Exploring" is aimed primarily at children from five to eleven years of age; and we're confident they'll be fascinated by it.

However, teen-agers have

scarcely had time to feel "left-out," since "Update" — the weekly news program (Sundays, 5 to 5:30 p.m. NYT) created especially for *them*—began its second season on NBC the day after "Exploring's" debut. (Please consult local listings for times on both programs).

Actually, it's a pretty good bet that the two series will, in a great many homes, be attracting entire families.

We're as sure of that as we are that many of NBC's *adult* attractions this season (such as the forthcoming "Cyrano de Bergerac," "The River Nile," and "Shakespeare: Soul of an Age") will be watched by many millions of youngsters. And that's as it should be.

Unclassified

The fact is that television's ability to inform and enlighten the young has never been restricted to programs with an academic stamp.

True, "Exploring" falls clearly into the educational sphere; but don't let that get around. You know how some boys are. Right off the bat, they'd be thinking of ways to be the very first kid on the block to play hookey on a Saturday.

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Is," "I Get Along with the Aussies," and "That Rusisan Winter." *This Is the Army* was a hit on Broadway as well as in every war zone; traveling with it was former Sergeant Irving Berlin, the only civilian in the cast, to sing his "Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning" from *Yip, Yip, Yaphank*. (*This Is the Army* enriched the Army Relief Fund by $10 million; for his efforts Irving Berlin was awarded the Medal of Merit.)

Of all the songs composed during the Second World War, the most popular proved to be one written for a film, *Holiday Inn* (1942), the nostalgic "White Christmas." Once again Berlin was able to sense a national emotion and to set it to a deceptively simple song.

AFTER THE WAR, Berlin returned to Broadway with two excursions into Americana, *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946) and *Miss Liberty* (1949). *Call Me Madam* (1950) marked a return to the contemporary political scene by celebrating the appointment of Perle Mesta—"The Hostess With the Mostes' on the Ball"—as American ambassador to Luxembourg. One of its songs, "They Like Ike," only slightly revised later, proved to be an effective campaign song (more so than 1928's "Better Times with Al").

Mr. President, with a book by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse, investigates, lightly to be sure, the problems facing the outgoing Executive and members of his family. His daughter melodically declares that the Secret Service makes her nervous; his wife sings out the discomforts of being the First Lady and the President chants an effective number entitled "It Gets Lonely in the White House."

Although no advocate of the now fashionable "integrated" song, Irving Berlin says that he has written songs for *Mr. President* that are "part of the script—general songs that fit the situation. If you have a good song, you can integrate it into any show." The current addiction to hammering songs into musical plot may well screen the inability to create simple, singable popular songs. "When they don't have a hit," Berlin has said, "they call them integrated. I believe in hits."

Stop Me, Somebody, Before I Bring an End To Western Civilization as We Know It

JAY JACOBS

THE THING appeared to be innocuous enough a few weeks ago, when I let myself be pressured into submitting to my first (and, I devoutly hope, last) radio interview. The interview (on which I hardly intend to dwell here) was a simple manifestation of what I shall call "The Snowballing Effect"—an occupational disease particularly virulent among the so-called mass media. I had written an article—actually, it turned out to be little more than a somewhat irrelevant picture caption—for a journal I'll call *The Sunday Sneeze*, an organ of communication that reckons its readers' attention spans in tenths of seconds and expects its contributors to write accordingly. Although the finished product was so light as to be practically nonexistent, I received a phone call a few day after its appearance from an earnest-sounding fellow who, in pear-shaped tones of a preternatural resonance, invited me to air my views, during a seven-minute question-and-answer session, on a New York radio station.

My speech, which is not so much natural utterance as the reading aloud of what I have first mentally written down, tends (what with erasures, corrections, occasional streaks of illegibility, copious marginal notations, and frequent parenthetical digressions, of which this is a fair sample) to be halting at best.

"I don't think," I muttered into the phone, "I can say anything on the air that I haven't already said in the article, but thanks anyway."

"Now wait a minute," Pear-shapes replied. "In the first place, most of our listeners don't read *The Sunday Sneeze* [or, I gathered from his inflection, anything else]. Besides, *The Sunday Sneeze* has a readership of a few lousy hundred thousand, while *we* reach *millions*." As he gave free rein to his grandiose delusions, his voice took on the plangency of a cathedralful of Bach fugue. "And anyway," he added, *andante serioso*, "Miss Snavely over at *The Sneeze* set this thing up herself because she figures both of you can use the plug."

I capitulated and, at the appointed hour, frittered away seven minutes I might otherwise have devoted to the absorption of a bourbon-and-water in parrying the leading questions of another intense, pear-shaped type whose views on my subject were a lot stronger than my own, and who seemed determined to make a ventriloquist's dummy out of me.

THAT WAS pretty much the end of that, except, possibly, insofar as my subconscious was concerned, until yesterday, when I happened upon the term "man-hours." The appalling nature of what I had done burst upon my consciousness. Suppose (I said to myself) the figure quoted by my telephonic recruiter was legitimate: suppose his program *did* reach millions. "Millions" at a minimum meant two million. Looking at the thing as conservatively as possible, I had blathered away at two million people for seven minutes. Fourteen million man-minutes, or more than 233,333 man-hours, had been frittered away on the maunderings of a man who really had nothing to say.

Two hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three man-hours! About what had gone into erecting the first three stories of the Empire State Building—or what would go into the building of a sizable hospital or a half dozen good schools, using today's construction techniques. Or, to get the thing down to more manageable proportions, I had yakked away twenty-seven man-years, the entire lifetime of a John Keats—John Keats, who feared that he might cease to be before his pen had glean'd his teeming brain!

When I stop to think what I have done, I am struck speechless.

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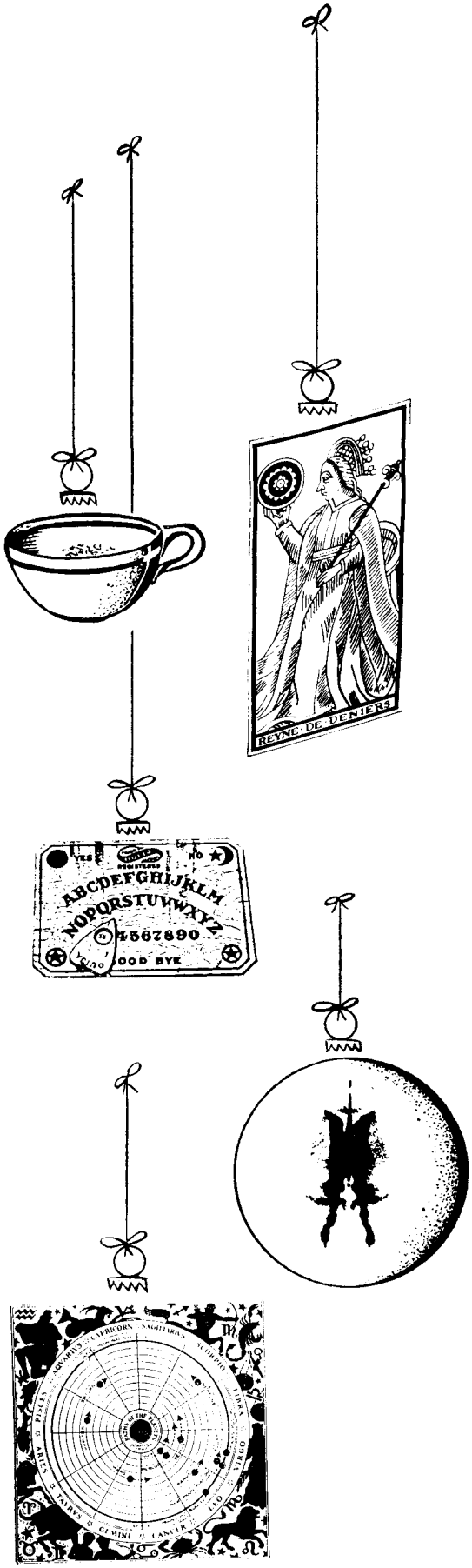

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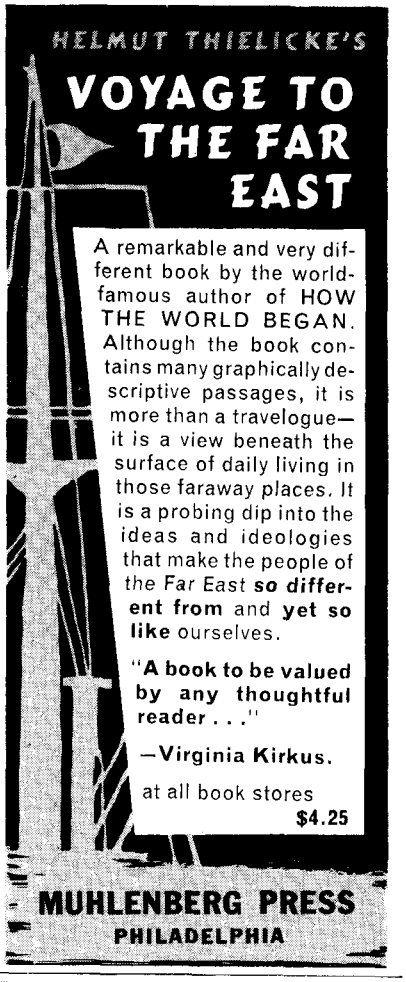
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RECORD NOTES

THE REAL AMBASSADORS: LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND HIS BAND, DAVE BRUBECK, LAMBERT, HENDRICKS, AND ROSS, AND CARMEN MCRAE. (*Columbia* OL 5850, *$4.98; stereo,* OS 2250, *$5.98.*)

One of the myths about jazz in recent years is that it can function as a proselytizing adjunct of American foreign policy. Certainly traveling jazz troupes have won converts to the music itself, but jazz has shown no measurable capacity to change political and other ideological allegiances. *The Real Ambassadors,* an unproduced musical by Dave Brubeck and his wife, Iola, represents the apotheosis of this childish image of jazz as diplomacy. There are to the show's credit a few touches of irony concerning occasional State Department instructions to touring jazzmen ("Be discreet/ When controversy enters, you retreat.") But the general level of this musical's message and the general quality of its lyrics are indicated by such passages—meant, alas, all too seriously—as "And when our neighbors call us vermin/ We send out Woody Herman/ That's what we call cultural exchange."

Mr. Brubeck himself is present on piano, and he has enlisted a strong cast which is largely wasted because of the flimsy material. Louis Armstrong's rasping high spirits and Carmen McRae's sense of swing do rescue part of the proceedings, but the writing is so naïve and sentimental that this album's primary distinction lies in its being the most fatuous essay on jazz-as-love yet recorded.

TIJUANA MOODS: CHARLES MINGUS. (*RCA-Victor* LPM-2533, *$3.98, stereo,* LSP-2533, *$4.98.*)

One of the many virtues of Charles Mingus's music is the fierceness of its originality. Mingus is a virtuoso bassist and a powerful composer whose compositions are characterized by plunging, exclamatory melodies, bold harmonies, and unpredictable rhythmic lines. Five years ago, Mingus recorded an album detailing his impressions of Tijuana during a turbulent period in his life, but the set was not released until now. Aside from its major place in the Mingus discography, *Tijuana Moods* also serves as an excellent introduction to Mingus's musical speech. The core of the album is "Ysabel's Table Dance," a long, expressionistic sketch of Tijuana after dark, including the prowling strip-tease dancers at the bars. There are other alternately biting and appreciative commentaries on Tijuana as well as pieces that focus entirely on Mingus's own emotional topography.

As usual, Mingus has been able to draw his musicians into his explosive moods, and there are several passages of sustained collective improvisation. The album also contains solos by trombonist Jimmy Knepper and trumpeter Clarence Shaw that are as refreshingly underivative as is Mingus's work. Except for some of the compositions of Duke Ellington, there has been comparatively little program music in jazz, but Mingus proves here that he is able to transmute the sounds and tempos of a particular place into convincing jazz terms and at the same time reveal a great deal about his own problems and their partial resolutions without becoming either mawkish or unraveled. In sum, although Mingus is very much a member of the jazz avant-garde, his music is no more abstract than the field hollers and blues with which jazz began.

OUT OF THE AFTERNOON: ROY HAYNES QUARTET. (*Impulse* A-23, *$4.98; stereo,* AS-23, *$5.98.*)

"I bet if I was some kind of nut or something," drummer Roy Haynes is quoted in the notes to this set, "I'd get a lot of notice. But there doesn't seem to be too much attention paid to guys who make a normal scene. I mean, who make all their gigs and raise families." It is true that the conscientious, noneccentric Mr. Haynes has long been taken for granted even by the jazz hipsters. This session, the most thoughtful so far released under his name, demonstrates, however, that he is indeed an unusually tasteful and self-disciplined drummer. His sound is crisp, his technique is swift and clean, and he is masterful at shifting and shading his dynamics. Unlike most jazz drummers, moreover, Haynes constructs solos that are musical, logical, and witty. He

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does not use his solo openings for lengthy and loud demonstrations of technique to intimidate other drummers.

Adding considerable interest to this recording is Roland Kirk, a multiple reedman. Kirk plays —often two or three at a time —the tenor saxophone, two kinds of flute, and various other instruments of his own construction. In those frequent passages during which Kirk turns himself into a harmonized reed section or plays flute duets with himself, he is not simply a throwback to the one-man band of vaudeville. Kirk is a consistently inventive musician, and his ingenuity is a means toward more expressive ends rather than exhibitionism. The program ranges from reflective ballads through driving swingers to an accurately titled Roy Haynes original, "Snap Crackle." The performances are buoyant and admirably unpretentious.

COLTRANE PLAYS THE BLUES: JOHN COLTRANE. (*Atlantic* 1382, *$4.98; stereo,* SD-1382, *$5.98.*)

John Coltrane, a somber-looking, intensely exploratory tenor and soprano saxophonist, is regarded by some jazz observers as having lost touch with jazz fundamentals in his complex recordings of the past few years. In this intriguing illustration of the many shapes and colors the blues can still reflect, Coltrane proves his command of basic jazz grammar while remaining unmistakably individualistic. In "Blues to Bechet," for example, Coltrane pays tribute to the late New Orleans-born soprano saxophonist in a series of straightforward blues variations that are as pure a distillation of the jazz spirit as has been recorded this year. Elsewhere, Coltrane adapts the blues to Near East idioms, to romantic concerns, and, in "Mr. Knight," to a blend of African, Hindu, and West African materials. For all his experiments in expanding jazz forms, Coltrane plays with passion, and this album should make clear even to those uninitiated to modern jazz how compelling his music can be. Throughout, the leader is spurred by the ingeniously apposite drumming of Elvin Jones, who also is thoroughly grounded in jazz basics.

—NAT HENTOFF

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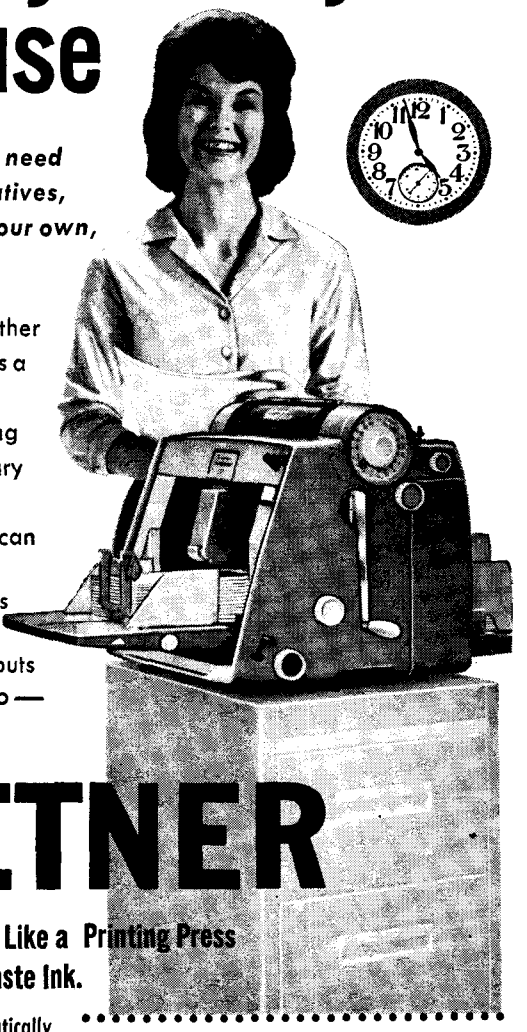

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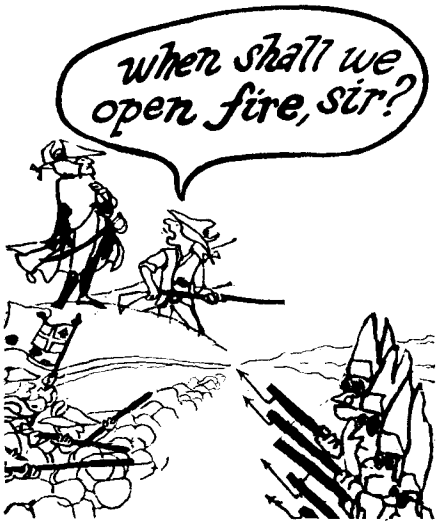

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LETTERS OF JAMES AGEE TO FATHER FLYE. *Braziller. $5.*

There were two celebrities on the staff of *Time* magazine in the hot summer of 1948, Whittaker Chambers and James Agee. It was not only that these two were known by personal reputation outside the production-line anonymity of group journalism; they were also the objects of unusual interest within the shop. Even Mr. Luce seemed to put the two very dissimilar writers in a class by themselves, and at about that time they were taken out of the regular hierarchy and a new department was created for them called Special Projects —mostly, it was felt, because nobody could figure out what else to do with them. It is wrong to think of the Luce empire as a cold and heartless place; great pains are taken to get the best out of each employee by making allowances for his individual needs and difficulties.

Everybody liked Jim Agee. He was gentle and mannerly, and while some ranking members of the staff might betray a self-confidence that could be taken as calculated to intimidate, Agee let himself seem shyly anxious to learn the views of younger colleagues, a fresh batch of whom had just been dumped out on the deck from the personnel department's nets after trawling through some of the more prestigious Eastern colleges. They had all heard of Agee—Exeter '28, Harvard '32, acclaimed as one of the country's most promising young poets after the publication of *Permit Me Voyage* in 1934, talked about by all the brightest English instructors for the abrasive honesty of his report on Southern tenant farmers, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* The well turned-out apprentices saw in Agee a projection of their own careers: he obviously had great things in him, and it was a pity he had to waste so much of it earning his living at *Time,* but someday he would hit his stride and be able to work entirely for himself, concentrating on serious literature instead of on stuff for somebody else to fill a weekly magazine with. And so would they all.

There was no sad aura of talent wasted or promise deferred about Whittaker Chambers, and even before the days that summer when his own biography became one of the biggest stories in the newsmagazine he worked for, the reactions of other members of the staff to his intense, not far from coarse personality could never have been described by so mild a verb as "like." He had very little

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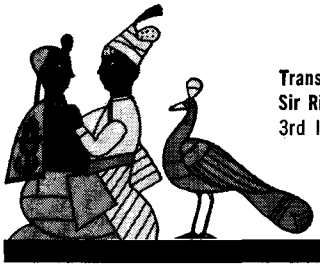

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small talk to offer while waiting for the elevator, and many found his brooding reserve both affected and offensive. And yet to others he was the one friend in a haze of bright smiles, first names, and "Let's have lunch" who felt direct and loving concern for other human beings. Several of the magazine's foremost foreign correspondents lodged formal protests over the way Chambers handled their copy, but he had admirers who were convinced that he alone provided historical and prophetic comprehension in columns otherwise devoted to the clever inanities of Ivy League lightweights.

It was the substance of what Chambers put on paper that counted, not the literary sensitivity with which he performed the act, and if his friends were convinced that *Time* was using Agee, it was clear that Chambers was using *Time*. Unlike Agee, Chambers very much believed in what he was doing and very much wanted to go on doing it. And yet both members of the Special Projects Department resigned within a few months of each other, Chambers for the past he could never get rid of, Agee for the future he could never quite reach.

IN LARGE MEASURE, Agee was the product of a superior education that equipped him very poorly for the world in which he lived. If a man wishes to become a great physician, a great architect, a great jurist, or a great musician, he must first apply himself to the practical business of learning and practicing his trade. Even one who wants to understand and change history, as Chambers did in his quest for greatness, must ploddingly acquire the use of some rather complicated sets of tools. But Agee's lifelong ambition, somehow typical of younger men in younger times, was one that would soar before it walked. He stated his goal quite clearly just before his twenty-first birthday in one of the more or less personal letters—he often seemed to have a sizable audience in mind—that have recently been published: "I'd do anything on earth to become a really great writer," he declared. "That's as sincere a thing as I've ever said." The depression itself did not prevent our best schools and colleges from encouraging such thoughts in bright young men. Indeed, in some earnest English Lit. quarters it was regarded as the only worthy ambition.

What is the proper apprenticeship for such a calling? In practical terms, as Agee pointed out to the Episcopalian schoolmaster and priest who was his close friend and apparently something very like a parent, the obvious courses that lay open for those who found themselves with marital responsibilities and without a great deal of money were teaching and journalism. How many have stood at that fork in the road, attempting to choose which of the careers they were sure they didn't really want they would devote all their lives to?

Agee chose journalism, and all in all it didn't treat him badly. After he had done a sort of trial article on TVA for *Fortune* in 1933, the editor in chief called him in and "was as honest and as swell as anyone could wish for." Needing the money, Agee felt that he "couldn't well say, when asked yes or no: 'I'm not that much interested.'" There were of course other, perhaps more important, reasons why Agee stayed on for some fifteen of his most productive years: "One is," he confided to Father Flye, "that I'd much rather succeed than fail this job before I quit it." All through these letters there is a nagging refrain: "I have been sure I wanted, sooner or later and by preference sooner, to quit this job," is how

he put it on one occasion. And yet it seemed almost as difficult for Agee to leave the Luce publications as Chambers has said it was for him to get out of the Communist underground. Why? It can't have been only the money, important as that consideration must have been. It's not difficult to see in these letters that Agee must have been rather severely intimidated—as who wouldn't be?—by the role he had written for himself as a "really great writer." But also, although he often felt constrained to be somewhat apologetic about it, we can sometimes see in those letters how much he actually en-

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joyed the tasks to which he devoted most of his time and talent.

When he finally quit *Time* he wrote one first-rate novella, *The Morning Watch,* and left one unfinished full-length novel, *A Death in the Family,* that for all its excellences must be described as pathetic rather than tragic. It has been overpraised, primarily, it seems, because those who give prizes felt that Jim ought to have some of the trappings of greatness he had wanted so badly. He wrote almost no poetry after that first promising volume. The "really great writer" never appeared. Agee had feared as much right from the beginning. In that same letter to Father Flye in which he had first revealed his orgiastic vision of sublime self-expression ("I'd like, in a sense, to combine what Chekov did with what Shakespeare did"), he also confessed, ". . . I have no faith to speak of in my native ability to become more than a very minor writer. My intellectual pelvic girdle simply is not Miltonically wide." The real waste in the life of James Agee is not that he never became "a really great writer" but that this foolish fantasy kept both Agee and his friends from accepting and being comfortable with the minor but extremely valuable writer he certainly was.

Toward the end of his life, after several heart attacks had contrived to make him thoroughly aware of the limits both in time and in strength beyond which he was not apt to go, Agee became both less self-obsessed and a good deal more cheerful about who he was and what he was doing. These letters show him pleased, excited, and in no way apologetic about the movie scripts he was writing. Just as he contributed his sensitivity, honesty, and superior intellectual attributes to magazine journalism, he also had a man-sized share in raising the quality of what is seen in movies and on television. He was one of the best scenarists in the business.

And in one field he was beyond all rivalry. He craved superlatives, so let us give them to him: he was the best film critic there ever was. To look through the first volume of *Agee on Film* is to be appalled by the inanity of what passes for criticism of the more popular arts. Both

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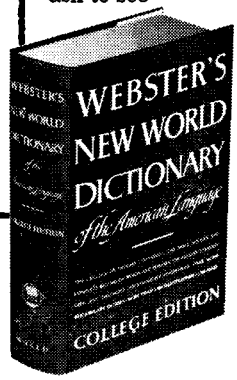

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M	I	L	I	T	A	R	Y	A	D	V	I	S	E	R

Acrostician—

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Translated by Alan C. M. Ross
Preface by Raymond Aron

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anonymously in *Time* and more vigorously under his own by-line in the *Nation*, Agee wrote with a wit that never became smart-alecky and a sophistication that never corrupted his profound common sense. For it is not clever phrases that make a great critic but the unwavering ability to see and describe the obvious that has gone unseen and undescribed. Here's the sort of thing he could do: in his review of one of the postwar films in which Hollywood took it upon itself to deplore anti-Semitism, he wrote, "Few things pay off better in prestige and hard cash—granted you present it in an entertaining way—than safe fearlessness." There's a bull's-eye if there ever was one.

CHAMBERS and Agee were friends, at least in the office. They were surely more alike in temperament than could be imagined by those who were only able to judge from their manners in *Time's* corridors. But although both were similarly harried, each dealt with his private furies in a different way, and it is not entirely easy to tell which of the two came closer to accomplishing what he set out to do.

Shortly before his death, Chambers, describing a dark and suicidal period, wrote, "It had to do with my inability to fix the meaning of the current period of existence in some communicable way. I knew the fault lay in me." Unhappy as he was, Agee was at least free of that sort of illusion. In another review he once wrote: "I am unable to trust the politicians of either camp or of any other to supply me, the world in general, or even their closest associates, with the truth. . . . It may be that this painful impotence is an impotence merely of my own spirit; it may be that I am immobilized, rather, by my conviction that a primary capacity for telling or discovering the truth is possible, today, to few human beings in few types of occupation or allegiance. In any case, I can attempt to learn the truth, and can defend, or attack, only in areas where I can rely in some small degree on the hope of emergent truthfulness in the material and in those who are handling it."

And that, be it recorded, is precisely what he did.

Beyond The Wall

ELIE ABEL

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE, by Seymour Freidin. *Scribner. $5.95.*

This is an angry book by an angry man; a personal history of the cold war, written without literary trills or roulades but with a quality of moral indignation that seems rather old hat these days. The spectacle of white oppressing black, say in Angola, commands huge automatic majorities for censure or condemnation in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Seymour Freidin, now Executive Editor, Foreign News, of the New York *Herald Tribune*, has dared to remind his contemporaries that man's inhumanity to man acknowledges no color line; that white men can be beastly to other whites; that Hungarians, for example, may have as much right to self-determination as the Watusi.

For Si Freidin the cold war began at the Brandenburg Gate in May of 1945, nearly ten months before Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri. That was the start of a sixteen-year "death-watch" assignment, ending back at the Brandenburg Gate, now part of Walter Ulbricht's "state frontier" that tears Berlin in half.

In Freidin's book there is no such thing as a satellite people. "There may be satellite states but the people are not satellites," he observes. "The people of Eastern Europe spoke be-

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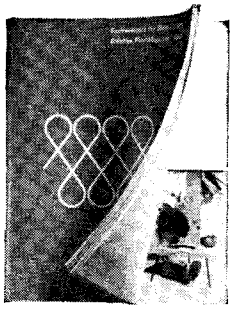

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fore there were any uprisings against Soviet rule by proconsul. They will continue to speak to us in the future. It is not up to us to 'liberate' anybody. This is egoism misplaced. . . Oppressed people, in time, can only be liberated by themselves. We, for our part, can only help with pressure against the common enemy . . ."

This is a lesson American politicians and statesmen have failed to grasp. Whole nations are not made over in a single generation, no matter how brutal the attempted conversion to another way of life. Our career diplomats, more particularly those who had served in Moscow during Stalin's time, were totally unprepared for the "October events" of 1956 in Warsaw and Budapest. I can recall a dispatch by one of America's most respected Kremlin watchers, drafted the weekend before those volcanic eruptions, setting out with mathematical precision all the reasons why the Poles could not and would not rise up. He was wrong in overestimating the power of the Soviet state, in underestimating the endurance of deep-rooted nationalism. Finally, he made insufficient allowance for the shattering effect throughout Eastern Europe of Khrushchev's performance at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress. If Stalin could suddenly be declared a murderous criminal, then anything was possible —even bread riots, strikes, and insurrection.

Khrushchev made the same miscalculations, and once he had set the forces of change in motion, compounded the fatal error by ordering them to stop halfway. Marshal Tito warned the Russians more than once that it was not enough to get rid of Matyas Rakosi. He must be replaced, Tito argued, by a leader whom the people would accept as a good Hungarian, preferably someone like Imre Nagy who had suffered for his opposition to Rakosi. Khrushchev preferred Erno Gero, a vest-pocket edition of Rakosi. He explained to Tito that there was no real alternative; Rakosi had wiped out all possible rivals. The outcome was a revolution by Communists against Communism, not at all the counter-revolution of dispossessed landlords and prewar fascists that Khrushchev and his apologists have since tried so hard to make it appear. Freidin cites the testimony of Janos Kadar himself, broadcast just three days before he betrayed the revolution: "We can safely say that the ideological and organizational leaders who sponsored this uprising were recruited from Hungarian Communist writers, journalists, university students, youth of the Petofi Circle, thousands and thousands of workers and peasants and veteran fighters. We are proud that you honestly stood your ground in the armed uprising and in leading it. You were permeated with true patriotism."

FREIDIN excoriates the "cynical and chimerical" Republican campaign slogans about rolling back Soviet power in Eastern Europe. But he rejects the notion, often put forward in the name of "political realism," that Russia's conquests should be recognized by the West as the first step toward a live-and-let-live arrangement.

He is certainly right in suggesting that the Soviet Union leads from weakness, not strength, in Eastern

Europe. We can perhaps redeem our commitment to freedom, Freidin contends, by negotiating with the Russians for what he calls "superneutralization from the Rhine to Soviet frontiers." Such an arrangement would, to all intents, mean the withdrawal of both Soviet and American military power from Europe, the neutralization of both Germanys, the effective dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It is a price Freidin would willingly pay to give his forgotten people the right to decide their own destinies. He would hasten the day by embarking immediately on a systematic campaign of supporting

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armed resistance in Eastern Europe. He acknowledges the risks without fully resolving the apparent contradictions in his two-step program of action. Nor, in my view, does he take into account the possibility that super-neutralization may find more takers in Moscow than in Washington, Bonn, or Paris.

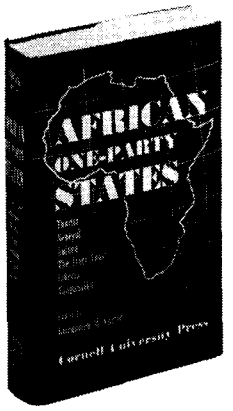
The Way It Was

DONALD A. ALLAN

THE THIN RED LINE, by James Jones. *Scribner. $5.95.*

In dedicating his fourth novel to "WAR and WARFARE," James Jones's cynical toast is "may they never cease to . . . provide us with the heroes, the presidents and leaders, the monuments and museums which we erect to them in the name of PEACE." What about literature? Jones might have mentioned that, to give credit where credit is due. Since the invention of the stylus, war has been a boon to writers; and many young Americans, no exception to the rule, have won what amounted to battlefield commissions as authors.

War yanked the writers-to-be off the farm or campus, slammed revelation into them, and delivered them a subject, with a choice of tested variations and a near-universal audience. Both those who fought (most of them protectively numbed beyond remembering) and those who didn't fight (but are avid to know) have always needed the services of the artist to tell them what *really* happened during the time of delirium. And the artist has been no less eager to get it off his chest. Thus Hemingway, Faulkner, and John Dos Passos; and thus Norman Mailer, John Hersey, and James Jones. They supplied the public need and their own need for a literary baptism. Once their "remarkable first novel" about war had appeared, most of these writers abandoned war as a major theme. But here is Jones; almost twenty years after he fought and was wounded on Guadalcanal, and ten years after *From Here to Eternity,* he has written in *The Thin Red Line* the most accurate and powerful description of



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Edited by
GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

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THE REPORTER Acrostickler® No. 64

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A
26 59 89 75 61 181 "Sans_____l'honneur n'est qu'une maladie." Racine, "Les Plaideurs."

B
93 167 22 216 133 119 198 Unfortunate, luckless.

C
222 113 31 208 105 18 204 165 195 6 Objects of a sinful nature in and of themselves (4,6).

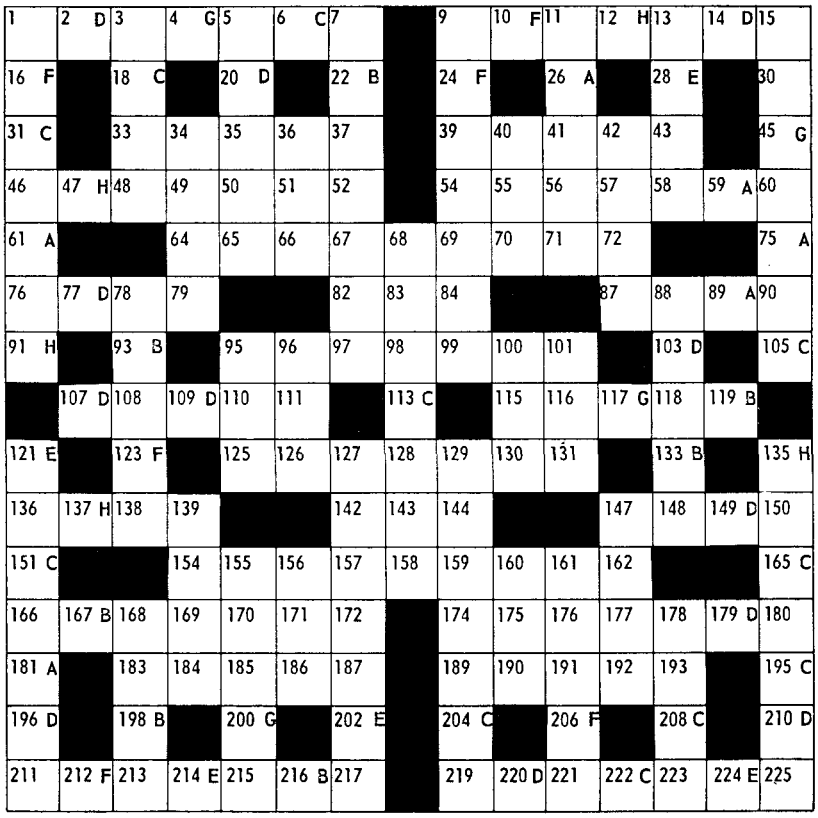
D
107 109 196 20 149 220 103 2 210 14 179
77 One of the major literary prizes of France (4,8).

E
214 224 121 28 202 151 "Their ranks are breaking like thin clouds before a_____gale." Macaulay, "The Battle of Naseby."

F
10 123 24 16 206 212 "La troppa____vien' da superbia." Italian proverb.

G
4 117 200 45 The lowest wavelengths of visible lights.

H
135 47 137 91 12 Ointments made of the roots of spikenards.



ACROSS

1. The profession of the Acrostician.
9. Dust whirls about America and settles on the waxworks.
33. The top in adult radio programs.
39. A criminal has this finger infection.
46. He was out of this world or gaga in it.
54. Tumblers when all's French iron.
64. Vain? Sent down, rather, but found his position as well.
76. Being French in sweet repose.
82. The bird in the higher nest?
87. Notice the spirits in his ignition.
95. A song in a reed instrument is passed on.
107. The rye in the Post Exchange doesn't come in fireproof glass.
115. Frees yet furls the sails, paradoxically.
125. A replica or not, it's a water bird.
136. A plant found in wet, reedy ground.
142. One in American enterprise (dial.).
147. A vessel of the far Gold Coast.
154. Mathematician who traces des in philosophy, perhaps.
166. That part of the defenses where the defenders get a rap on the pate.
174. This method of painting seems spiteful, a bit!
183. And the French love me to show feelings.
189. The flavor of the sea, in fact.
211. The instrument used by the mice to call the bet off (3,4).
219. When the ship approaches the slip, it makes one's sin (5,2).

DOWN

1. Gained fifty and put into order.
3. A hard case with ugly form.
5. What's left over when ten rate.
7. The barker's patter about an engaging dog.
9. If any small foot is needed, this part of one of the Acrostician's vehicles has it.
11. The French do not use this large room to bathe in.
13. Youthful affection requires no cane.
15. Lack of agreement that a god ordered to go.
34. A narrow way associated with Chancery.
36. The Amazon might appear so on a crowded map or in a driving rain (abbr.).
40. Consume 5 down without a prescription.
42. Sold to a famous automobile man.
68. A raving old Spanish admiral.
78. In her I find my kind of poetry.
88. Deduce what is almost a friend.
95. Cloth of pure poplin.
96. River between Exeter and Exmouth will hold ten with ease.
100. Time in the Rand.
101. This belongs to Leo, but is also the end.
121. Sets typical no sale for shaver's aid.
127. You can call tea milky sometimes.
129. Rain, and so on, are sure today.
135. A negative horse on the straight offers nine ways to figure.
139. Cheese made from ripe damsons.
147. Cleopatra's babes may pass.
155. Nothing deep about this part of the poem.
156. Tennis! Leave the tavern and begin the score.
160. Tennis! Play it over without sin, but reverse the figure.
161. Sends out this message: "Sit on me somehow!"
168. A pause in what were stresses.
178. They're classified as fish and something else.

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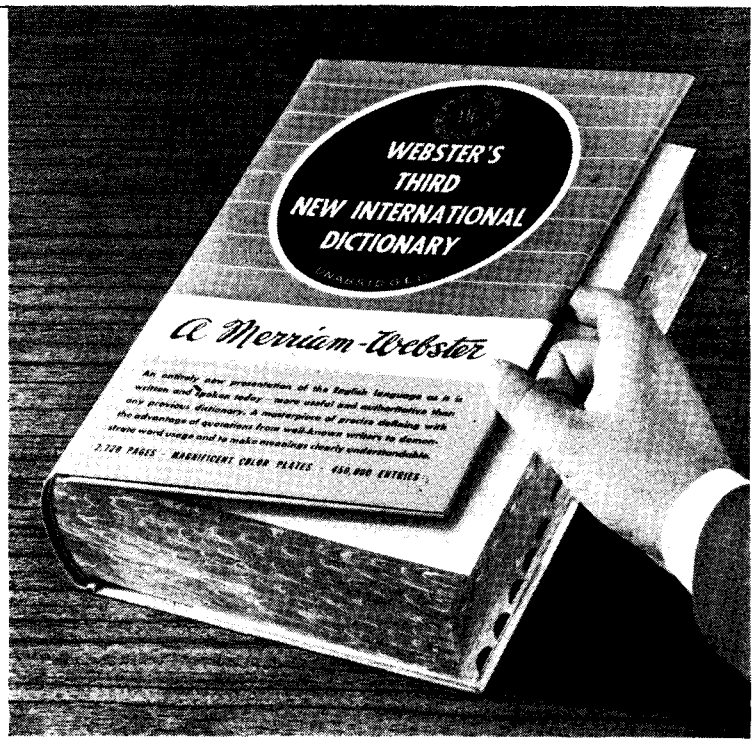

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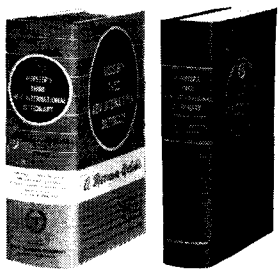

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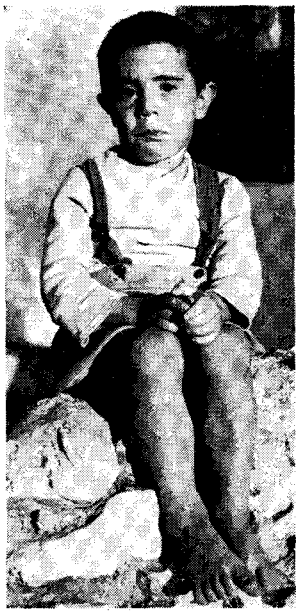

Peter was sent to live with relatives last year because his family was unable to provide for him. But his parents could not bear the separation and now Peter is back home. The 6-year-old Greek boy faces winter without the clothes he needs. But Peter never complains. He knows that his parents cannot afford to buy him any clothing.

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battle in American fiction. Some critics, such as John W. Aldridge, have complained that he returns "obsessively" to war for his material, that he has not grown. But was Henry James criticized for continuing to write about what he knew best?

Jones is different from the other "war" writers in many important ways. For one thing, he is still a heavy-handed craftsman whose indulgent editors allow him phonetic spellings (such as gunnel for gunwale), inconsistences of style (such as the insertion of run-together words, realmodernlike). Where Hemingway conveyed all the filth and terror of battle in a glimpse of bloated mule carcasses or a panic-driven struggle to extricate a staff car from a ditch on the road from Caporetto, Jones manhandles his material. He overturns every rotting cadaver, inhales every stench, and details every excruciating moment of struggle, day by day, of this fictional Guadalcanal diary.

The Thin Red Line has no conventional plot, no symbolism. It is a composite diary of most of the sixty-six enlisted men of C-for-Charlie Company and a few of its officers. There is no spiritual change such as Henry Fleming underwent in *The Red Badge of Courage*. The dogfaces of C Company disembark on the island, scared and despairing, in the middle of an air raid. They plod inland and are thrown into a bloody campaign to clean out Japanese resistance on a series of ridges. They suffer the horrors of jungle warfare—rain, malaria, thirst, exhaustion, filth, fear, and the pains of death. But when the survivors board another transport to move up to another island they are still scared and despairing. Nothing much has changed, on the surface. Some who were alive are dead, and some who were cowards have found you can learn to kill but never learn to be unafraid. The one essential thing they have gained is combat numbness, without which none of them could have come through sane.

There are no real heroes or proud ideals in *The Thin Red Line*. None of the men of C-for-Charlie stop to reflect that their agonies on Guadalcanal may be serving any reasonable purpose. "Property. All for property," mutters Welsh, the mad first

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sergeant. "Nothing had been decided," muses Private John Bell with his face ground into the dirt and bullets hitting around him,..."nothing had ended. Even if they had captured this whole ridge, nothing would have ended. Because tomorrow, or the day after, or the day after that, they would be called upon to do the same thing again . . . free individuals? What a ———— myth!"

In *A Farewell to Arms,* Lieutenant Henry became disillusioned: "I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrificed were like the stockyards at Chicago where nothing was done with the meat except to bury it." But Lieutenant Henry was a volunteer, and an officer to boot. The men of C-for-Charlie are old soldiers of the peacetime Army—the ones Jones wrote about in *From Here to Eternity*—plus a number of draftees. They had no illusions to begin with. And as for officers, they despised and mistrusted the whole breed.

Jones is not one to search out the subtly significant incident, the grain of sand from which to infer the universe, the crucial moment of decision that defines character or introduces the chords of a tragic motif. His way is the way of the avalanche, an irresistible onrush of episodes and characters that overwhelms his subject. It is a violent way, and it sweeps the reader along with relentless power, just as C Company's staggering soldiers are swept ahead by the momentum of war to where death is.

The men of C-for-Charlie are the kind who joined the Army during the depression to get three meals a day. They can read and write, but not much more, and their language is recorded accurately. Jones has been faulted for this monotonously accurate obscenity, just as he has been attacked for having a pessimistic view of man's fate. C Company's sadistic Sergeant Charlie Dale would answer this in a few words: "So what? This is the way it was."

This book was not constructed to bring together a balanced slate of Hollywood characters of different faiths and racial backgrounds; there are no Irwin Shaw heroes with books in their knapsacks; there are blessedly few flashbacks into the past of C Company's roster. There is just "WAR and WARFARE," exposed as a mindless return to the jungle. For *The Thin Red Line,* by being devastatingly true, is a furiously anti-war novel. *Catch-22,* the other marvelous anti-war novel of the day, is in the tradition of Cervantes and *The Good Soldier Schweik* and the grotesque caricatures of George Grosz; *The Thin Red Line* is descended from Tolstoy's Battle of Borodino and Goya's "The Disasters of War."

The Thin Red Line also takes a noble place in the annals of American war writing, in direct line from such entries as that of Private Joseph Plumb Martin, who recorded: "We arrived at the Valley Forge in the evening. It was dark; there was no water to be found and I was perishing with thirst. I searched for water until I was weary and came to my tent without finding any. Fatigue and thirst, joined with hunger, almost made me desperate. I felt at that instant as if I would have taken victuals or drink from the best friend I had on earth by force."

Private Martin would have fitted right in with his brothers-in-arms of C-for-Charlie.

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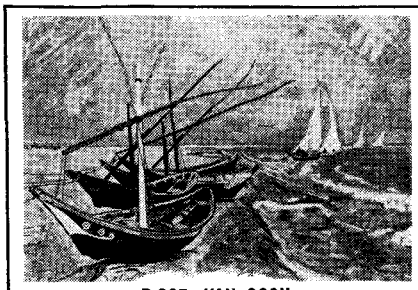

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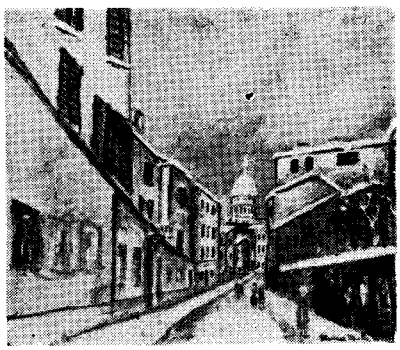

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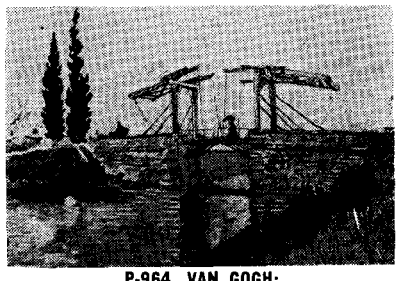

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